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STUDIES IN RURAL CITIZENSHIP

DESIGNED

for the use of Grain Growers' Associations, Women's Institutes, Community Clubs, Young Peoples' Societies and similar organizations and groups desirous of obtaining an intelligent view of rural life in Canada, with its various needs and possibilities.

PREPARED BY

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The Canadian Council of Agriculture

which at present comprises The Executives of The Dominion Grange, The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and The United Farmers of Alberta.

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INTRODUCTION

By R. C. HENDERS, President M. G. G. A.

The sending out of this course of study marks an advance movement in connection with the work of the Grain Growers' Association. Hitherto we have given our time and energy very largely to the task of bettering the conditions of agricultural life through the procuring of wider transportation and marketing facilities. In the prosecution of this work, we have made the discovery that it was very difficult for us to attain the object we had in view, owing to the fact that those who were opposed to us were not only thoroughly organized, but were so strongly entrenched in the very government of the country, that it was with great difficulty we were able to secure anything like adequate consideration for the most reasonable request that we might make.

On pursuing the investigation a little further, we came to the conclusion that agriculturalists were themselves very largely—if not entirely—to blame for this state of affairs. While the country was new and the land was producing large returns on very small expenditure, both of labor and capital, farmers were able to make a comfortable living and did not give much attention to the study of economic questions, or to the legislation that was being enacted by which a very large percentage of the population were enabled to secure an undue toll for the service they rendered, nor by the kind of organized opposition that might be expected from this class when their unreasonable sources of revenue were being questioned or properly adjusted.

This additional fact was also disclosed—that while rural life represented over sixty per cent. of the population, rural population had only about twenty per cent. of representation in the courts where our laws were made. This in large measure accounted for the great difficulty we experienced in seeking to introduce remedial legislation—not perhaps so much from any desire on the part of our representatives to be unfair, as from the fact that they had not been educated to look at these matters from the rural view point.

Having made these discoveries, the question of a remedy suggested itself. What can our Association do to procure a proper adjustment of our economic affairs? Immediately the answer came, "We must educate the masses; we must get the people to think! think!—for as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." We must induce people to give themselves up in some degree, at least, to the study of economic questions. Our next thought was how we could best carry on this work and again the answer came, "Prescribe a course of study to be carried on in our local branches during the winter months, which shall give the members, particularly the young people, some ideas of the fundamental principles which lie at the foundations of true nation building."

I wish to say that, while at first the object we had in view was to have our work confined to the Grain Growers and their movement, we had not gone very far with our work until we found that it was likely to be much wider in its scope

than was originally intended. Others with whom we counselled said, "Why not increase the number of your subjects and widen the outlook, making it meet the requirements of any organization, secular or religious, which desires to take advantage of it?" This has been done and we hope that any who feel disposed will feel free to make use of this series of studies.

It will give us pleasure, as far as possible, to co-operate with them in making these studies interesting and profitable. In taking up these studies, while there will not be any fixed method laid down, the general course to be pursued will be, that each organization arrange with the parties who are to introduce the subject, say some two or three weeks ahead, so that they may have ample time to prepare. It will be well for the Committee on programme arrangement to keep in mind a few things: That each member have some part to take. It is those who have no particular work to do that lose interest. Then again, that the program be conducted so that no one will trespass on the time belonging to anyone else.

These outlines are only suggestions. It is our intention to have a competent person prepare an article on each of the topics to be taken up, which article will be published in The Grain Growers' Guide and in other journals, that we may be able to interest in furthering the movement. Books of reference are also indicated, where parties who wish to read more widely may do so. In this way we hope to secure a very full and intelligent discussion of each topic.

You will notice that in some cases statements are made with which you may not entirely agree. This was also done for a purpose—our object being that the other side of the question might be brought out for the purpose of showing where it is at variance with fact.

If we can succeed in impressing upon our men and women who are now discharging the duties of citizenship, the sacredness of the work in which they are engaged; if we can inspire our young men and young women with the responsibility of living, and the necessity of so equipping themselves for life that when called to service of any kind they will be able to perform such service in a way that will be creditable to themselves as well as helpful to the community; if we can start our younger people along a line of study that will develop statesmen and not politicians, nation builders and not time-servers, then we will consider that the purpose for which these studies were introduced has been well served.

"The well being of a people is like a tree; agriculture is its root; manufacture and commerce are its branches and its life; if the root is injured, the leaves fall, the branches break away, and the tree dies."—Chinese Philosopher.

"The back to the soil trend is a city movement. The real country life movement is a campaign for rural progress conducted mainly by rural people, not a paternalistic plan on the part of city folk for rural redemption. It is defined by one of the great rural leaders as the working out of the desire to make rural civilization as effective and satisfying as other civilizations, to make country life as satisfying as city life and country forces as effective as city forces."—G. Walter Fiske.

PREFACE

The two first steps in the solution of the rural problem are knowledge and co-operation.

We must know the facts; we must know the facts in their relation to other facts; we must know the significance of the facts. Time spent in such study is not lost time. It is learning how to make the best use of our time.

We must learn to co-operate—to work together. Before we can work together we must get together. If these studies do nothing more than bring together community groups they will be invaluable. Out of common study will grow common action.

There is a growing demand for help in outlining social studies. Farmers' organizations are feeling the need of educating their members; women's clubs are anxious to enlarge the scope of their discussions; young people's societies are discovering that practical subjects create the greatest interest. It is hoped that these studies may meet the needs of these various classes.

It is desirable that the course should include all the interests of the community. Life is a unity. Community life cannot be divided into sections and each section be studied as if it had no relation to the other sections. The attempt to do this is responsible for many one-sided views in educational, religious and agricultural matters. Detailed, specialized studies should be made, but always having regard to the larger whole.

The purpose of these studies is not to cram down some particular theories, but rather to provoke thought and discussion. To think right is desirable; to think is essential. Right opinions are of little value if they are some one else's opinions. Let each man think for himself. So the world grows richer.

Many of the statements made you will not agree with. So much the better. Possibly they are right, nevertheless. But if not, you should be able to show why and how they are not correct.

For instance, the President of the (American) National Association of Manufacturers recently issued the following statement:—

"Let me indicate, however, the position of manufacturing in the general scheme of the national development.

"Manufacturing is the basis of all production. Even the farmer cannot produce his crops without the aid of the manufacturer, nor can such crops be distributed without the aid of the transporting appliances that have been manufactured.

"The merchant can neither sell, deliver, exhibit, advertise, nor account for the goods produced and transported without the aid primarily of the manufacturer.

"The consumer cannot be housed nor reach a market, expeditiously; cannot, even if he could reach a market, utilize the natural raw products without those articles produced by the manufacturer.

"Light, heat and power, so indispensable to progress, depend not upon the farmer, the shipper, the merchant, the consumer, but upon the energy and ability of the manufacturer, and the wages paid by him, the means with which to purchase.

"In all the history of this nation there has never been a time when the necessity for organization and co-operation among manufacturers has been more apparent than today. Assailed by the unthinking, oppressed by the legislator, organizations such as ours with its great constructive policies have been made the football of politics and the target of the mud-slinging newspaper.

"If the great productive forces of the country are to be unimpaired, if manufacturers are to realize their importance as a class in the nation's welfare, and if they are to protect themselves effectively from the assaults from all sides upon their business existence and thus preserve the general prosperity, they must stand together in purpose and deeds."

We fancy that we have heard similar claims for farming. Who is right, the manufacturer or the farmer? That question is not for discussion here; we wish merely to emphasize the tendency to see only one side of a question.

Some of the opinions given in these studies are offered by men who live in the city or who are not practical farmers. Well, all wisdom is not confined to the country, and sometimes an outsider can see things more clearly and in truer perspective than one who is "right up against" the perplexing details of practical problems. In any case it is often well to see ourselves as others see us, whether the others are friendly or hostile. Faithful are even the wounds of a friend and to be forewarned of the enemy's position is to be forearmed.

Most people need a bit of a jolt to set their thinking apparatus in motion. Our task is to give the jolt, not to think for anyone.

In each study the plan is: (a) To outline the main points; (b) To give a brief treatment which will open up the subject, introducing where possible suggestive quotations from recognized authorities; (c) To suggest questions for discussion or debate; (d) To provide a short list of references to books or articles that may be readily obtained.

This outline will be supplemented by special articles in 'The Grain Growers' Guide' and it is hoped in other agricultural papers.

These papers, it might be noted, afford a splendid forum for the public discussion of the most important topics.

The title chosen for the course lays the emphasis on Citizenship. Too often Citizenship has been narrowed to the exercise of the franchise and that has been associated with all the evils that at present attend party politics in Canada. "Politics" are not something remote from or indifferent to us. They are related to every detail of our every-day life. They need not remain "a dirty mess." They may become the carrying out of the command "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—the highest expression of our religious life. Citizenship is life in a community.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between "urban" and "rural." The distinction, however, between "city" and "country" is fairly well recognized. If there is any difficulty in deciding in which class any particular community should be placed, the test should be that of mentality rather than that of location. Suburban communities think with the city; country towns and villages are essentially rural in view point and attitude. For this reason it would be well if more frequently farmers and country merchants could work and plan together. The solution of the rural problem is as vital to the town as to the open country—perhaps more so.

Perhaps a personal word may be permitted. The one entrusted with the arrangement of these studies. I realize very clearly how inadequate my preparation is for such a task. For some years my own work has been largely in the city. Country life problems should be handled by a specialist. But a number of friends have come to my help, so that in the end this little outline is the work of a group of specialists.

After all, our social problems, whether of city or country, are at root the same. Often they are simply the two sides of the same shield—the convex side very different from the concave, yet understood only in its relation to the concave—thus city congestion and rural isolation, unemployment in the city and scarcity of labor in the country.

The most important thing in studying either city or country problems is the "Social Viewpoint." Each man must be dealt with in relation to the whole social organism. Attention must be directed to discovering the underlying causes of social conditions and projecting the lines of future development. The highest welfare of men, women and little children is the touchstone by which must be tried all apparent prosperity and progress.

STUDY 1

Changed Conditions Demand a New Programme

"The well-read town dweller has more to learn about the social problems of the farms than the well-read farmer has to learn about the problems of the town. Each, however, ought to know the other's problems, for the problems of each are the problems of the other. They are all problems of the nation. As long as all men, however, derive their living from the soil, so long will the problem of the farmer be the fundamental problem of the nation. Until recently on account of the great development in industrial conditions the problems of the town and the city have seemed most insistent; but now the more fundamental problems—the problems of the agriculturalist—are making themselves heard."—The Outlook.

"Industrial independence of rural communities has gone forever; henceforth they are vital parts of the economic organism of the world."—Anderson.

CHANGING CONDITIONS—Canada today is not the Canada of twenty years ago. Think back twenty years—Ontario, a small province, with a homogeneous agricultural population, living largely a self-contained and self-satisfied life; Quebec, a string of picturesque villages bordering the St. Lawrence, keeping happy holy-days half the year; the Eastern Provinces living quietly down by the sea; the West, a youthful pioneer going forth into unknown territory. Confederation had been effected, but national consciousness was only emerging. We had little communication with the United States, except as our young people sought there wider fields of opportunity. The Motherland was a long way off and we had no sense of "Imperial Responsibilities." We knew little of industrial disputes; and since most of us lived in the country, rural depletion was an unintelligible phrase. Within the two decades has come an influx of over two million immigrants. Within the two decades our cities have grown at an enormous rate till now half of us are city-dwellers. Within this period we have emerged from our isolation and are being rapidly drawn into the great world currents.

Some of us shrink back from the deep waters and would gladly return to the simpler life and joys of earlier days. But that is a fatuous impulse. For good or ill we are launched upon the larger life. Its perils may be great, but its possibilities are boundless. It is ours to—

Cut the hawsers—haul out—shake out every sail,
Steer for the deep waters only.
For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go,
And we will risk the ship, ourselves, and all.
O daring joy, but safe! Are they not all the seas of God?
O farther, farther, farther, sail!"

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION—Consider the changes that are taking place in our social groupings.

In England a certain stratification has long been recognized as part of the social order. Individuals may rise from one class to another, but the doors close tightly after them.

In the early days in Canada we had few class distinctions. The majority of the settlers earned their bread by the sweat of their brows. Off a man "went

into business" he did not rise to a superior rank. He might escape the harder forms of manual labor, but he often lost his independence. The laborer married the farmer's daughter. Their eldest son was kept at home to do the chores, the second was set up in business, the third was given an education, so that he might enter upon a professional career. The tendency was for the farmer's son to become a business man and his grandson a professional man; but the doors swung easily and were never shut against others who followed.

But already a change is evident. The ladder is being raised from the horizontal to the vertical position. It is more difficult to open the doors from below. The force of gravity is against the climber and when he has passed through the door it closes with a bang.

Who are the people at the top of our social life? The money-kings whether they are, as asserted, twenty-three or more—the merchant princes, the railway magnates, the coal barons, the captains of industry—these are our successful men, our social leaders and our political bosses. These are the men whom even the King delights to honor.

Next, perhaps, come our professional men, politicians, lawyers, newspaper men, men whose technical training gives them a position of great influence and importance in the community. Next come the small business men and the farmers. The ranks of our "aristocracy" are largely recruited from the most successful groups of these three classes.

Below these and shut off by double doors are the mechanics, chiefly British, and the unskilled laborers, increasingly foreigners. These two classes imported to this country are absolutely essential to our newer and fuller life, yet they threaten the old order. They might be termed the danger zone. But within this danger zone shines brightest the light which will prove our national salvation.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?—We have in Canada the rare opportunity of looking ahead twenty-five years and seeing where our social tendencies are leading us. All we must do is to look across the boundary to the United States. There, social conditions are, in many ways, parallel with our own. But their development began earlier. Similar social elements were introduced years ago. Similar social forces have been at work. Now they have reached an advanced stage in which there is unfolded what is with us as yet only in the bud.

According to some of their most thoughtful men, there are in the United States today only two great classes—those enjoying special privileges and "the people." The ladder which is a tilt in Canada is almost erect in the United States. The doors swing heavily. There is still a certain mobility, but the tendency is toward permanent stratification, not so vastly different from that in England. Yes, and yet in both England and the United States new forces are manifesting themselves which promise a veritable upheaval. Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson are more than strong good men. They embody and typify new social ideals which seek to find expression in a changed social order.

Not alone in English speaking countries is there social unrest, and the expectancy of great social changes. Throughout Europe, in the near East, in the Orient, inconceivably rapid developments have taken place within recent years. No one can foretell the future. It is in stirring times that Canada launches forth into the deep.

Rural Canada, even in its most isolated districts, is experiencing the effects of the new social currents. Even the most casual observer must be impressed by the changes and ask their significance.

A Trip Across Canada

NOVA SCOTIA—Let me give a few glimpses as we hastily cross the country. Several years ago an old resident took me for a drive through an old settled part of Nova Scotia. He seemed to know the history of every farm. Perhaps it was because he was an old man, but he shook his head regretfully as he thought of the former days.

It was a beautiful country. The land had produced good crops in the early days. Some farms had been "worked out." But the majority of them if they

were worked properly would pay well. The milk industry had given an impetus to cattle raising and the experimental farm was gradually raising the grade of cattle and increasing the profits. But notwithstanding this, we passed farm after farm that had been abandoned. Why? Oh! the young people had gone to the States or to Western Canada. The older people grew discouraged. They could not get help. They had followed their children West or moved into the cities, or died and left no one to take up their work. So the comfortable old homestead was left desolate.

But around some of these old homes there was every evidence of life. Who lived there? Foreigners—Poles from the mines at Sydney. They had secured enough money to get together a few things and buy or make a payment on a piece of land. Yes, somehow they were making a good living as the earlier generations of French and English pioneers had done. Here, then, even in the rural districts of the far East there was beginning a foreign invasion that was quietly substituting Slavic for Anglo-Saxon stock. I had read of such conditions in New England, but here they were already in Canada.

QUEBEC—Let us come to Montreal. I remember a delightful motor ride in which a French-Canadian gentleman took us far out into the country. Again a fine country, splendid roads, an old settled district. A few years ago it had been well tilled, chiefly by small farmers and market gardeners. In places there were fine old country residences, but some of these were boarded up, others sadly out of repair, and field after field, formerly cultivated, was now a tangle of grass and weeds. The cause? Many of the earlier inhabitants had sold out and moved into the city or to the factory towns in the United States or further back into new territory.

Then had come a period of prosperous intensive farming. But the city had grown rapidly and extended on every side. Speculators had come in, bought up all the farms within a radius of many miles and subdivided them into building lots which they held at an impossible figure. Here and there a sleepy old village had sprung into life. Summer residences had gone up. Suburban trains carried many city workers back and forth throughout the year. But other districts were almost depleted. The old community life was at an end and life-long neighbors had been scattered to the four winds.

EASTERN ONTARIO—Another drive, this time along an old settled "concession" in Eastern Ontario. My companion had been visiting his old home and during this somewhat lengthened visit had learned of all the changes and happenings in the countryside. "Do you know," he said, "I feel very lonesome now in these parts where I used to know everyone. There are hardly any of the old families left, and somehow it's a different class that has come in. In my younger days there were a dozen families on this and the next concession that formed the rural aristocracy of this district. Our grandfathers had come into the forests and cleared their farms. Then our fathers were all well-to-do. They gave us a good education. We had splendid times together. The church was strong, and the centre of the whole life of the community. Now, well, I went to church on Sunday and there were only a handful present. They say that the 'renters' won't support the church and the English people don't care about church." "English?" "Yes, I visited the old school. Not nearly as many as in my day and half of them 'home children.' The servant girls are home girls and the hired men are all green Englishmen. Don't know the first thing about farming."

"But where," I asked, "have the old families gone and where are their children?" "Well," he replied, "our next neighbor moved to the village. None of the boys took to farming and we have had a succession of renters ever since. Further up the line, where you can see that big barn, the boys went out to Dakota. The old man farmed himself for a while. A few years ago he brought in an Englishman and his family and gave them the old house to live in and farmed on shares. He is gone; I guess the Englishman pretty nearly owns the farm by this time.

"That old place with the orchard is still in the same family, and see, they are putting up a new barn—using the timbers of the old barn. In fact, the descend-

ants of the old timers are making things go only because they have inherited the farm. They're not making interest on the capital—that is, the most of them. A few are doing well. There's Sam McGee on the second line. He has gone into thoroughbreds and is coining money, and Big Dick Murphy, old Pat Murphy's son, is making a good thing out of his potatoes; but they are exceptions.

OLD ONTARIO—A long drive out from Toronto, past far stretching suburbs, on past the well known village of Long ago, where now an enterprising real estate agent is offering "beautiful residential lots only thirty minutes from the city" on to where "the country" used to be. But where are the old one hundred and two hundred acre farms of a generation ago? Gone! Now market gardens and orchards for miles and beyond farms, but farms held by tenants—owners English or Belgian Syndicates. And the old home life—much changed—much lost—much gained—hardly recognizable.

WESTERN ONTARIO—A trolley ride in Essex. The houses come in quick succession, old farm houses and between them newer houses close to the road, and everywhere carefully worked fields with, to me, strange plants in regular rows. Not cabbage; no, these are tobacco plantations! Everyone, I am told, is going in for tobacco. Even in the towns the vacant lots are carefully planted. "Good money in tobacco and an increasingly good market."

A real estate agent, an old timer who was now acting for an American Syndicate, told me of the many changes in the district. The country was undoubtedly prosperous—a good market, and considerable capital coming in. Much land had recently changed hands. Many of the farms were bought up by American Syndicates, drained and otherwise improved, and then sold to farmers from the Eastern Middle States, who were glad to get such relatively cheap land. Where have the farmers gone? To the North-West and to the cities.

SOUTHERN MANITOBA—Let us follow our Canadians West. I have had numerous drives through Southern Manitoba. These are old settled districts—for the West. But here, too, are changes—Good railway connections, telephones in many homes, the pioneer stage passed. But the villages are stagnant and in many parts the land yielding less and less every year, and in some districts seeded down with noxious weeds. The old timers? Some gone still further West; some made their money and gone to the city to live and speculate in real estate. Tenants are careless and do not keep the land clean, nor do they take the place of the owners in the life of the community. The schools are not so efficiently manned and it is a struggle now to raise the minister's salary. In the village the retired farmers are not very keen on any improvements that will mean increased taxation. This in a young Western province.

THE NEW WEST—A friend has recently been telling me of an interesting prairie farm. It consists of 64,000 acres and is owned by an English Syndicate. It is under the direction of a manager, who is a graduate of an Eastern agricultural college, and who draws almost as large a salary as the president of a bank. The farm is to be worked in sixty-four units of 1,000 acres each. Over each is placed a foreman, who is given an outfit of steam plows and other machinery necessary to sweep over vast acres of land. Big farms have often failed; but this is being run scientifically—a practical man at the head with plenty of capital behind him.

But what of life in that community, even if the farm succeeds financially. Ever-changing gangs of men boarded in the company's houses—camp-life rather than home-life. Suppose a good wage was paid, a good house provided, would you, my farmer friend, choose to establish a home for your family under such conditions? If you incur the foreman's displeasure your tenure of your home would be short. Then what about church and school and social life?

Will the industrial revolution overtake farming? A century ago the village weaver in England lived happily his simple independent life. But today his son is working in a highly specialized trade in a huge factory in the city, in the management and profits of which he has no voice or interest whatever. How

will modern commercial organization affect the farmer? Why should he be so different from his brother workmen in the city? This big prairie farm starts one thinking.

ALBERTA—On to Lethbridge. As we drive along we notice everywhere the irrigation ditches. We are in the dry farming district. A country apparently unproductive has been secured by great companies, irrigation introduced on a large scale and then sold off to settlers, many of them Americans. Enterprising, wide-awake people, these dry farmers. Sooner than the Easterners they will apply scientific methods and learn the value of co-operation, and yet these farms seem so wind-swept, so bare, so much alike! There is so little of the homelike, and so much talk of profits per acre. Of course, all is yet new and community life is not fully developed. But the visitor wonders if he could become any more attached to one of these made-to-order farms than to a suite in the city tenement. Yet in the city tenement thousands live and love. Perhaps we need new standards by which to appraise these new farms.

BRITISH COLUMBIA—Across the mountains still other conditions confront us. I recall several drives and walks through valleys in British Columbia. Here on bench land near the town were little clearings, each with its shack and young orchard. But out from the door came not a young Canadian, but a Chinaman. Further down the valley a company had the contract of clearing so many acres at so much an acre. A group of dark-skinned Hindus, with their bright turbans, were clearing brush; while further along we came upon a heterogeneous bunch of navvies armed with gunpowder and dynamite, whose task it was to blow out the stumps.

A very different method from that of the settlers in old Ontario, who if they and their boys could not pull out the stumps with a yoke of oxen, left them to rot for fifty years while they went on with their living, building their homes and rearing their families. Into these same valleys, more recently, small armies of Doukhobors have advanced, clearing the land with traction engines, building sawmills and canneries and setting up their strange community institutions.

How different it all is from the quiet old homestead "down East" in which our fathers were brought up. Even in the rural districts, Canada today is not the Canada of twenty years ago.

RURAL VS. URBAN GROWTH

The following statistics from the last census show the extraordinary growth of urban life at the expense, apparently, of the country:—

	Population 1911		Population 1901		Increase	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Canada	3,824,394	3,280,444	3,349,516	2,021,799	574,878	1,258,645
Alberta	232,726	141,937	52,399	20,623	180,327	121,314
British Columbia	188,796	203,684	88,478	90,179	100,318	113,565
Manitoba	255,249	200,365	184,738	70,473	70,511	129,892
New Brunswick	252,342	99,547	253,835	77,285	1,493	22,262
Nova Scotia	306,210	186,128	330,191	129,383	23,981	56,745
Ontario	1,194,785	1,328,489	1,346,969	935,978	52,184	329,511
Prince Edward Island ..	78,758	14,970	88,304	14,955	9,546	15
Quebec	1,032,618	970,094	992,667	656,231	39,951	313,863
Saskatchewan	361,067	131,365	73,729	17,550	287,338	113,815
Yukon	4,647	3,865	18,077	9,142	13,430	5,277
North West Territories ..	17,196		20,129		2,933	

"New occasions teach new duties." It is evident that the present programme is inadequate, that the present methods must fail. There are some who profess themselves content to do things just as their fathers did, but even that is impossible. One cannot turn back the hands of the clock. Our only hope is to go bravely forward. Forward, but whither?

DISCUSSION

Has immigration been detrimental to the best interests of Canada?

What economic causes are responsible for the drift to the city? Will these causes continue to operate?

Is the tendency towards big farms?

In the city, the machinery of production has passed into the hands of the few.

Is a similar process going on with regard to agricultural lands?

What will happen when there are no more free farms in Canada?

Why cannot a farmer today live as independent a life as his father did?

Specialization in industry is regarded as necessary to success. What about farming?

Has a man a right to land that he does not use?

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STUDY 2

The Country Life Problem in Outline

"Four periods of American country life are seen; the pioneer or solitary farmer; the land farmer or household farmer; the exploiter or speculative farmer; and the husbandman or organized farmer."—Warren H. Wilson.

"A remarkable social movement in America has been described by Professor J. B. Ross under the term 'agrarian revolution in the middle West.' This consists in the exploitation of the values of the land, an entirely new conception of farm life in terms of money rather than of land, of success in terms of profits rather than household values."—Anderson.

"Families run out both at the top and at the bottom of the social scale. It is the great middle class which from the point of view of the evolutionist constitutes the hope of society; and it is precisely this class which remains in the country."—Josiah Strong.

"Rotation of crops is essential to right farming; but rotation of farmers and teachers and ministers is no good."

THE DRIFT TO THE CITY—Years ago in his books on the city, Dr. Josiah Strong made the startling statement that the disproportionate growth of the city is the result of permanent economic causes, and will continue. This argument may be challenged, but is well worth the most careful consideration. In outline it is as follows: The redistribution of population which takes place wherever the modern industrial revolution goes is due to three principal causes. 1. The application of machinery to agriculture. A special agent of the Government reports that four men with improved agricultural implements now do the work formerly done by fourteen. Inasmuch as the world cannot eat thrice or four times as much food simply to oblige the farmers, a large proportion of them are compelled to abandon agriculture and are forced into the towns and cities. 2. The second great cause of the city's growth was the substitution of mechanical power for muscular and its application to manufacture. The springing up of factories in the city to make agricultural implements and a thousand other things created a demand for labor and attracted to the city the laborers who were being driven from the farms. 3. The third great cause of the growth of the modern city is the railway, which makes it easy to transport population from country to city, and, which is more important, easy to transport food, thus making it possible to feed any number of millions massed at one point. Thus a tendency towards aggregation which has always existed has now been liberated and the natural restriction to the growth of cities has been removed.

Thus it will be seen that the invention of machinery tends at the same time to decrease the rural population and to increase the urban population.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION—The organization of industry which followed the introduction of machinery and formed part of the "industrial revolution" has also profoundly affected the country. In Canada we have, during the last few years, seen the change going on under our very eyes. The great mail order houses or departmental stores daily send out consignments to retail customers hundreds and

thousands of miles distant. So fresh eggs and butter and milk and cream are daily taken from the farmer's door to customers living in the distant city. The world has become one vast neighborhood. A reorganization of the whole machinery of commerce and industry has been going on and must go on till a more efficient and equitable system is evolved.

Special problems such as the scarcity of farm labor can be really understood only in the light of the larger social developments. The labor market is no longer local, but national or international. Not merely wages but standards of living must be readjusted before a permanent and efficient labor supply can be assured.

The most important document on the Country Life Problem is the special message from the President of the United States transmitting the report of the Country Life Commission, February 9th, 1909.

COUNTRY LIFE COMMISSION—As this document forms the basis of most of what has been written concerning the Rural Problem in America, we quote from it at length: "Farming does not yield either the profit or the satisfaction that it ought to yield and may be made to yield. There is discontent in the country and in places discouragement. Farmers as a class do not magnify their calling and the movement to the towns, though, I am happy to say, less than formerly, is still strong. There are three main directions in which the farmers can help themselves, namely, better farming, better business and better living on the farm."

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION—The problem of the country life is one of reconstruction, and that temporary measures and defence work alone will not serve it. The underlying problem is to develop and maintain on our farms a civilization in full harmony with the best American ideals. To build up and retain this civilization means, first of all, that the business of agriculture must be made to yield a reasonable return to those who follow it intelligently; and life on the farm must be made permanently satisfying to intelligent, progressive people. The work before us, therefore, is nothing more or less than the gradual rebuilding of a new agricultural and rural life. We regard it as absolutely essential that this great general work should be understood by all the people. Separate difficulties, important as they are, must be studied and worked out in the light of the greater fundamental problem.

We must picture to ourselves a new rural social structure; developed from the strong resident forces of the open country; and then we must set at work all the agencies that will tend to bring this about. The entire people need to be roused to this avenue of usefulness. Most of the new leaders must be farmers who can find not only a satisfactory career on the farm, but who will throw themselves into the service of upbuilding the community. A new race of teachers is also to appear in the country. A new rural clergy is to be trained. These leaders will see the great underlying problem of country life and together they will work, each in his own field, for the one goal of a new and permanent rural civilization.

There has never been a time when the American farmer was as well off as he is today, when we consider not only his earning power, but the comforts and advantages he may secure. Yet the real efficiency in farm life and in country life as a whole is not to be measured by historical standards, but in terms of its possibilities. There has been a complete and fundamental change in our whole economic system within the past century. This has resulted in profound social changes and redirection of our point of view on life. In some occupations the readjustment to the new conditions has been rapid and complete; in others it has come with difficulty. In all the great series of farm occupations the readjustment has been the most tardy, because the whole structure of a traditional and fundamental system has been involved.

DRAINING THE COUNTRY OF ITS BEST BLOOD—We have found from not only the testimony of the farmers themselves, but of all persons in touch with farm life, more or less serious agricultural unrest in every part of the United States, even in the most prosperous regions. There is a wide-spread tendency for farmers to move to town. It is not advisable, of course, that all country persons remain in the country; but this general desire to move is evidence that

the open country is not satisfying as a permanent abode. This tendency is not peculiar in any region. In difficult farming regions, and where the competition with other farming sections is most severe, the young people may go to town to better their condition. In the best regions the older people retire to town because it is socially more attractive and they see a prospect of living in comparative ease and comfort on the rental of their lands. Nearly everywhere there is a townward movement for the purpose of securing school advantages for the children. All this tends to sterilize the open country and to lower its social status. Often the farm is let to tenants. The farmer is likely to lose active interest in life when he returns to town, and he becomes a stationary citizen, adding a social problem to the town. He is likely to find his expenses increasing and is obliged to raise rents to his tenant, thereby making it more difficult for the man who works on the land. On his death his property enriches the town rather than the country. The withdrawal of the children from the farm detracts from the interest and efficiency of the country school and adds to the interest of the town school. Thus the country is drained of the energy of youth on the one hand and the experience and accumulation of age on the other, and three problems more or less grave are created—a problem for the town, a problem for the public school and also a problem of tenancy in the open country.

◊ THE ECONOMIC SITUATION—The farming interest is not, as a whole, receiving the full rewards to which it is entitled, and because of this country life has not attained to anywhere near its possibilities of attractiveness and comfort. The farmer is necessarily handicapped in the development of social life and in the conduct of his business, because of his separateness, the small volume of his output, and the lack of capital. He often begins with practically no capital, and expects to develop his capital and relationship out of the annual business itself; and even when he has capital with which to set up a business and operate it, the amount is small when compared with that required in other enterprises. He is not only handicapped in his farming, but is disadvantaged when he deals with other business interests and with other social groups. It is peculiarly necessary, therefore, that Government should give him adequate consideration and protection.

BROADER PROGRAMME FOR CHURCH—This commission has no desire to give advice to the institutions of religion nor to attempt to dictate their policies. Yet any consideration of the problem of rural life that leaves out of account the function and the possibilities of the church, and of related institutions, would be grossly inadequate. This is not only because in the last analysis the country life problem is a moral problem, or that in the best development of the individual the great motives and results are religious and spiritual, but because from the pure sociological point of view the church is fundamentally a necessary institution in country life. . . . The time has arrived when the church must take a larger leadership, both as an institution and through its pastors, in the social reorganization of rural life. . . . It must be a leader in the attempt to idealize country life.

The country church doubtless faces special difficulties. As a rule, it is a small field. The country people are conservatives. Ordinarily the financial support is inadequate. Often there are too many churches in a given community. Sectarian ideas divide unduly and, unfortunately. While there are many rural churches that are effective agents in the social evolution of their communities, it is true that as a whole the country church needs new direction and to assume new responsibilities. . . . Most of the gatherings are designed for the church people themselves rather than the community. The range of social influence is, therefore, generally restricted to the families particularly related to the special church organization, and there is likely to be no sense of social responsibility for the entire community."

As supplementing this document, let me give the opinion of one who is regarded as our greatest Canadian expert. As was said in the preface, we propose to call witnesses who will state the various sides of the case. The evidence of each should receive the most careful attention. As judge and jury you can afford to give each in turn a chance to prove his case. We quote from a newspaper account of the investigation into the decline of rural population in Canada.

DR. ROBERTSON'S OPINION—At the last session of Parliament a special committee appointed by the senate considered the whole question of the movement of the population. The most interesting witness was Prof. Robertson, formerly head of the MacDonald Institute, and more recently chairman of the commission on technical education.

Dr. Robertson assigned as one reason for the greatly increased flow of rural population to the cities and towns of recent years the increase of facilities for travel and for communication. It is easier to move and there is much more knowledge brought to the rural population of what they may expect.

In the case of Canadian farmers who, with their sons and daughters, leave the rural parts and go to live in towns and cities, that desire and hope for a better chance for the children is the greatest impelling motive about this flow.

Dr. Robertson argued that the unit of human labor on the farm to produce a certain quantity of food is less than it used to be when there was no movement in Canada from the farm to the town. He produced figures to show that the human labor required in 1855 to produce a bushel of corn was four hours and thirty-four minutes. By 1890 this had been reduced to forty-one minutes. He also estimated that in 1894 it cost ten and a half cents for human labor in seeding and harvesting to produce a bushel of corn as against thirty-six in 1885. From this he claimed that it was inevitable that relatively fewer people can live by farming.

Dr. Robertson in his analysis why men left the farm said that there were three elements in what he called "satisfaction in labor," and each of these had an influence in causing a man to determine where he will work.

The first was the element of satisfaction from getting possession of material things; call it wealth.

The second was the element of social enjoyment in one's work.

The third was the pleasure the worker has from doing the work itself, apart from the money return from the product.

Speaking of the first element, Dr. Robertson thought it was the impelling motive of modern life.

Coming to the second point Dr. Robertson thought next to getting wages and holding possessions, the chief aim of most men was to have the means and opportunities for social enjoyment. The cities and towns are much richer in such opportunities than the country. Dr. Robertson advanced the opinion that the country is barer of opportunities for social satisfaction now than it was twenty-four years ago.

Coming to the third element, Dr. Robertson did not think that the way we farm in Canada under modern conditions gave a man as much opportunity for real satisfaction in doing work as it did in the olden days. He claimed in the early days farmers got more satisfaction out of their work.

"The tawdry and slovenly way," he went on, "we follow farming in Canada is one of the main causes, in my judgment, for people leaving the farm."

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

Are the causes of rural decline social or economic?

What must be the nature of the remedy?

What is the limit of the growth of the city?

The railway builds up the city. Does it not also work the other way in making possible a better life in the country?

Does Dr. Strong's argument apply to Canada, which is a consumer of goods manufactured outside Canada and a producer of food stuffs consumed outside Canada?

Has a farmer the right to employ a man for only a few months in the year?

Should the farmer expect that his hired man will remain unmarried?

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- 4—The Challenge of the Country George Walter Fiske (Association Press)
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STUDY 3

Proposed Solutions: A—The Better Farming Movement

Our last study brought us to the question of agricultural conditions in Canada. Many claim that bad farming is the root of the evil and so that better farming is the solution of the rural problem. Of course, most farmers do not agree with this position. They say they are tired of hearing this kind of talk. But at least it is worth consideration; there may be something in it after all. We at least purpose to set up the nine-pins; you may knock them down—of course, if you can!

In our last study we quoted largely from an important American report. In this article we present extracts from the Third Annual Report of the Commission of Conservation (1912). This report, which is printed in pamphlet form, contains an address by Dr. James W. Robertson, Chairman of the Committee on Lands, and an Agricultural Survey, 1911, by F. C. Nunnick, B.S.A., Agriculturalist of the Commission. At the beginning of our study of rural conditions it is well to have these authoritative statements before us. If a private individual would make such statements he probably would be characterized as a "carping critic." Here surely is revealed at least one, even if not in the opinion of many, the fundamental cause of the rural problem.

Report of Commission on Conservation

DOUBLE YOUR MONEY—Last year the farmers of Canada produced field crops worth \$565,000,000. That amount can be doubled in ten years if all the farmers will adopt the systems and methods followed on the best 10 per cent. of the farms examined last year for the Commission of Conservation.

We are making progress. The agricultural Survey of 1,212 farms in our nine provinces brought this out. Taking the hundred farms in Nova Scotia, 49 per cent. of the farmers reported an increase in the yield of crops as compared with ten years ago.

Fifty-one per cent. of the farmers report an increase as against ten years ago. In New Brunswick 24 per cent. report an increase; in Quebec 39 per cent.; in Ontario 24 per cent., and in Manitoba not one farmer. Consider that report from a virgin province with the accumulated wealth of 50,000 years of the Creator's deposits in that savings bank of soil, that not one farmer on a hundred farms has reported any increase over ten years ago, and 46 per cent. of them have reported a decided decrease. That gives us much food for thought. It brings out a grave situation for consideration. It is to me much more imminent of blessing or disaster than any other material question now before the West.

SOLIDARITY OF SOCIETY—First we enquired whether the farmer followed any system of rotation in his crops. Most things hang together. There is a hang-togetherness in this world that it takes a fellow a while to believe in as a working scheme of life; and when he comes to believe in the hang-togetherness of things, he gets a new vision, a new principle, a new guide for his behavior and he realizes that he is one of the lot. No man liveth unto himself; he belongs to the other fellows as well as to himself. He cannot help it that he is part of them; and their uplift will uplift him and their down-going will pull him down.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE—If there is a systematic rotation of crops, if the crop that now is prepares the soil for the crop that is to be, then you have

continuously improving conditions and continuously improving crops; but if the crop that now is does not prepare the soil for the crop that is to be, then you get general degradation and poverty. No doubt the same principle applies to the rotation of civilizations and social conditions and opportunities.

SEED SELECTION—Another question investigated was the systematic selection of seed. I have no intention of discussing that at length—the quality of life. The dominating thing worth while in any existence that is vital is the quality of life, not the mere possession of life, the quality that is vigorous to overcome obstacles in a reluctant soil and a dry or wet season and hardy to resist disease. Some strains of seed produce plants which have power to resist attacks of such diseases as rust and are so vigorous as to produce largely. In every strain of seed the farmer must see to the cleanness and vitality. Taking the farmer's judgment as to the losses, the preventable losses of these 1,212 farms from weeds and insects and plant disease run to an average of between \$75.00 and \$100.00 per farm. That loss could be prevented by the means which are used by the best 10 per cent. of the farmers.

SOWING WILD OATS—Then there are wild oats. You know the phrase "Sowing his wild oats." If a fellow of sixteen had any sort of acquaintance with the real character of wild oats he would not have any in his seed bin, and if he had any he would not sow them. The wild oats got to Manitoba some time ago. That is a new province and yet 94 per cent. of the farmers report them as being there and getting worse. Sixty-three per cent. of the Albertans report wild oats on their farms. There is the widening invasion of a menace to the prosperity of our people and the fertility of our farms. The reports from our Survey indicate that a comparatively small number of farms are run under good business management, that is, under good systems of cropping and good methods of cultivation.

The idea of our civilization is that of associated effort of the people by the people, for the people, associated effort on the spot for the common good.

Agricultural Survey

NOVA SCOTIA—Very few follow a systematic rotation of crops. Nothing is done in the way of seed selection more than to grade the grain through a fanning mill. The amount of clover seeded each year is small and the number of pounds to the acre is insufficient to secure a good stand. Windmills and gasoline engines are not to be found on many of the farms. The water supply is reported as bad in many cases. Very few have modern conveniences in their houses. Lack of help and weeds (especially ragwort) are the principal drawbacks. Mixed farming and hay growing are practiced. Where orchards have been sprayed there is a marked improvement in the quality of the fruit.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—Weeds are very bad in many places and some of the worst weeds are the most prevalent. The water supply is polluted and, in very many cases, inconvenient. Very few windmills or gasoline engines are to be found. Some farmers complain of the boys leaving the farm, making it hard to keep up the work and control the weeds. In some places the machinery used for spring seeding is still in the fields. Carelessness is all too evident.

NEW BRUNSWICK—On many farms the animals show the effects of selling the best hay and grain and keeping the poorest for home use. Many were surprised when told that they could increase their yields by careful seed selection. The reason given by a considerable number for not selecting seed is lack of time, but judging from the carelessness which is evident almost everywhere, very little time is given to improvements of any kind.

QUEBEC—Systematic rotation of crops is almost unknown. Seed from the best field is usually kept and put through a fanning mill, but not often cleaned more than once. Very little is known regarding the names of varieties of grain

grown, there being but few who know anything about it. The yield is not, in any case, what it should be. Sufficient clover is not sown and the amount sown per acre is too small to secure a good stand.

ONTARIO—A number of farms are reported as needing more humus. Where the weeds are decreasing it is due chiefly to clean cultivation, pulling, cutting and preventing them going to seed. Many report annual weeds, which do not give much trouble in the cultivated crops, but are troublesome in pasture or meadow lands that are left uncut or unplowed for a long time. Losses from pests are given in dollars and cents and aggregate a heavy loss. The controllable pests cause average losses of from \$75.00 to \$100.00 per farm, which on 100 farms means a heavy total loss.

MANITOBA—The following is a summary of the remarks made by the collector on one farm and which is applicable to many: "Mr. _____ does not seem to be one of the progressive farmers, but seems to be content to travel in the same old rut and consequently does not get on well. After thirty-one years in a district like this, one would expect to see a man with a well-improved farm, but here we see one where no trees have been planted and a very old and small house is still used. Machinery is not cared for and things in general are not fixed up around the place, but it is not because of financial difficulty, it seems rather to be lack of attention."

Wherever the farms were rented they were dirtier and poorly looked after. The principal causes given for the spread of noxious weeds are moving wagons and machines from place to place at threshing time, stock threshing, insufficient cultivation, too much grain growing with not enough hoe crops, grass and clover; and weeds on roadsides, in ditches, on headlands and in waste places being allowed to go to seed.

SASKATCHEWAN—Many of the houses have nothing in the way of convenient water supply or bath room and water closet. A number of the farmers report frost and hail as drawbacks and are beginning to realize that they must keep more stock for the sake of certainty of income. Wheat is "King" in this district.

ALBERTA—The water supply is poor on many farms. The buildings are very poor, the barns in many instances being but low and poorly constructed shacks. Very little care is given to the implements. Some of the manure produce is used, but a number of the farmers make no use of it whatever. Careless and wasteful methods are all too common.

BRITISH COLUMBIA—Seven persons in this neighborhood were absolutely ruined for want of regulation of water supply. The first record is taking it all and letting it run to waste rather than let others have a share. Four farmers have left their farms and others have actually no crops. Investigation would show absolute ruin to a fertile district through want of official water distribution.

BETTER FARMING—This is certainly not a very good showing for Canada. Just at present we are not concerned with theories. They will come later. Probably it is true that most farmers know now more than they can put into practice. But let us give a fair exposition of the better farming movement.

"The well educated farmer," says Butterfield, "will be trained in three lines of thought—first, that which deals with the growth of products; second, that which deals with the selling of products; third, that which deals with agriculture as an industry, and farmers as a class of people."

We cannot do better than follow these three divisions.

"Scientific farming is the clue to the repair of country life." Such is the belief that underlies much of the work of our agricultural departments and agricultural colleges.

Within the last few years a score of agencies have been at work to stimulate more scientific farming. We have our federal and provincial departments with experimental farms, travelling experts, farmers' institutes and farmers' clubs,

and women's institutes and experimental unions. We have our agricultural colleges with regular courses, short courses, extension work, demonstration trains. We have our conservation commission and illustration farms and are soon to have large federal grants. We have our agricultural societies and pure-breed associations of all kinds, and finally we have at last in the West a correspondence school of scientific farming.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION—"This awakening," says Butterfield, "is due not merely to the desire of agriculturalists to be in fashion nor to efforts of agricultural pedagogues, but to a real need. It is common knowledge that in America we have not farmed, but have mined the soil. We have 'skimmed the cream' of fertility and passed on to conquer new areas of virgin soil. This pioneer farming has required hard work, enterprise, courage and all the noble traits of character that have made our American pioneers famous and that have within a century subdued a wilderness to civilization. But the farmer of today faces a new situation. The fertile lands are fairly well occupied. The old lands are neglected. These old lands must be skilfully handled if they are to produce profitably. They must be used because there is little else to use and because they are near the best markets. Meantime, scientists have been studying the deep things of nature and have been learning the laws that govern the soil, plant and animal. Thus we have the farmer's need met by the theorist's discoveries. The farmer, to avail himself of these discoveries, must know their meaning and be able to apply the general principle to the specific case. This means agricultural education."

One of the most important needs is that of mixed farming. As Anderson points out in his work on the country town, dairying and the rearing of animals for meat on farms have large significance in this connection, the crops taken from the soil are converted into higher values with increased expenditure of labor.

DISCUSSION

Compare yield per acre in all farms in the district—the cause?

What improvements could be made that would not involve increased expenditure?

What improvements would justify increased expenditure?

Why are prominent representatives of Banks, of Loan Companies, of Boards of Trade, of Industrial Bureaus, of Credit Men's Associations, of Grain Exchanges, of Railway Companies and of other large corporations so much interested in better farming? If better farming becomes general, just how will each of these business interests reap a benefit?

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STUDY 4

Proposed Solutions: B—Better Business—Co-operation

"Better farming simply means the application of modern science to the practice of agriculture, better business is the no less necessary application of modern commercial methods to the business side of the farming industry. Better living is the building up in rural communities of a domestic and social life which will withstand the growing attraction of the modern city. This three-fold scheme of reform covers the whole ground and will become the basis of the country life movement to be suggested later. But in the working out of the general scheme there must be one important change in the order of procedure, better business must come first."—Plunkett.

As a plea for intelligent farming, let me quote from an address delivered to the Ontario Agricultural and Experimental Union by Prof. C. C. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Ontario. In reading this address, I was reminded of the way in which an old farmer expounded to me the situation: "They figger that the milk is worth something to them, but they don't figger *what* it's worth. They don't know nothin' about the cost (of production). Only them that figgers make the money now-a-days."

Prof. James said: "The day has come when the agricultural community, agricultural work and agricultural methods are beginning to form a large portion of the consideration of the public affairs of this country. In the City of Toronto we have a Canadian Club, and during the past six weeks we have had no less than two addresses on the question of the relationship of the farmer to the most important public question of the day. Coming up on the evening train, I opened a paper and I began to read the subject that was taking up the largest space or portion of that paper, and it was the report which was read today by the president of one of our largest Canadian banks. Now, I advise you all to read that. You will say, 'Well, what has that got to do with us farmers?' Well, if you will read that you will see why I have advised you to read it. From one-third to one-half of that address deals with the agricultural situation in Canada as a whole, and of the different provinces. The agricultural question is not confined in its interests to you who are directly engaged in it. The financial men of this country are interested in it. The railway men of this country are interested in it. Our people in town and city business are interested in your calling, and it is for you, then, as students of agriculture, to take the deepest interest in your work and to become as well informed as you can about it."

CAN NO LONGER FARM "ANY OLD WAY"—"What I am trying to get at is this, that the question of the production of a pound of butter or a pound of cheese and of so getting for that what is really due to you is a far more complicated question than that which concerns the manufacturer of ploughs. Don't dismiss these questions with the idea that they are very simple, easily comprehended, easily worked out. It makes no difference whether it is the production of a pound of beef, a dozen eggs, or 100 lbs. of milk, all these processes, starting from the first up to the last, are so intricate and so complicated that it will take the very best material that you have got inside of your head to work them out along the right lines. This agriculture may at one time in this province have been a comparatively simple thing. The day may have been when men could go out and without any special instruction or any special scientific training

or any special observation, simply sow the seed, get the harvest and sell the grain, and so on. There may have been a day when things worked like that. But that day has long gone by, and the farmer of Ontario today who is going to face his work and who is going to carry on his work with a fair prospect of success has got to understand that the processes that present themselves to him, that the work that confronts him, that the problems that he has to solve, are no mean and simple problems, but problems of great intricacy, that demand that arrangement of his work, the best engineering of his time, the best training of his faculties, that he can possibly command."

FARM MANAGEMENT—Thus we pass from better farming to better business; indeed the two are almost inseparably united.

Better business is needed in what is known as farm management. There is a great deal of shiftlessness and waste effort in many districts.

I think of a Western farm as I knew it some years ago. The machinery was left in the field and the straw burned. The harness was mended and the hay racks repaired only when work should have been commenced. In the winter there was practically nothing to do for four or five months. Several grown sons and a hired man sat around the stove, yet the firewood was cut and carried in only armful by armful as it was needed. A few hundred yards away along the creek was a plentiful supply of wood, but the cutting and hauling was put off from day to day till during a severe blizzard it was necessary, in order to save the family from freezing, to break up a picket fence, carefully constructed the summer before.

Another type of farmer that is not infrequently met with, he works hard and long. His help is poor, but he thinks he cannot afford better. He attempts a little of everything—more than he can possibly undertake. Nothing is well done. His binder is old and in poor shape, but his acreage is so small that he "puts up" with the old, losing much time and running up heavy repair bills. His fields are weedy and some crops half thistles. His fences are always weak somewhere and horses and cattle are always in trouble. He puts in a good sized garden, but hasn't time to weed it until the most of the vegetables are choked out. The old orchard is past its best. It yields only enough apples for his own use and these poor, so that really it is hardly worth while pruning or spraying. He keeps all kinds of poultry, but somehow most of the young meet with fatal accidents before they reach maturity and those that live destroy what is left in the garden. Everything is a little behind, yet the farmer of this class tries to save his taxes by doing his own road work, and sometimes seeks to supplement his income by hiring out his man and team.

TEAM WORK—But better business means much more than better farm management. The farmer must not only produce his crop, but he must sell it to advantage and with the proceeds buy the things necessary for the carrying on of his farming operations and for the comfort of his home.

The farmer no longer lives or can live to himself. And, further, under modern conditions the farmer cannot independently buy or sell to advantage. The world is organized. He, too, must organize. But it is not easy to learn to "pull together."

I know well two farmers who live on adjoining farms in Ontario. Both keep a number of head of cattle. One has come to the conclusion that cream pays best. So he has purchased a cream separator and three days in the week he hitches up his horse and buggy, crowds in his cream cans and drives three miles West to the Grand Trunk Station to send his cream to the city. His neighbor, after mature deliberation, has decided that milk on the whole pays better than cream. But this must be sent in by an early train every morning. So, early, six days in the week, he hitches up his horse and buggy, crowds in his milk cans and drives five miles East to the Canadian Pacific Station.

Why couldn't these men work together? They are good neighbors. They exchange work. They hold friendly disputes over the milk and cream question, but each goes his own way. Which pays the better? I don't know, but I venture that that could easily be determined by an expert, and I fancy that

even if they came to a wrong decision they would save at least a horse and buggy and two hours' time three days a week the year around.

This lack of co-operation places the farmer at the mercy of the whole business world. He must sell cheap and buy dear. The Boston Evening Transcript, in its report of the National Rural Life Conference at Columbus, Ohio, states: "At present the farmer is not meeting with economic justice. Somewhere between him and the consumer there disappears sixty-five cents out of every dollar of the value of the crops he has received. Who gets the sixty-five cents?"

CO-OPERATION IN CANADA—The middleman gets most of it now, but our more progressive Canadian farmers are beginning to organize on quite an extensive scale. The Grange did splendid pioneer work. While the movement, as such, has not attained the success hoped for by its leaders, it undoubtedly accomplished—in spite of great difficulties—a lasting educational work, the results of which are now becoming manifest in the rapid development of the newer organizations. In Nova Scotia, for instance, are the Nova Scotia Co-operative Fruit Growers' Associations, of which there are about forty scattered through the Annapolis Valley. These have been amalgamated into one central Nova Scotia Fruit Growers' Association, which will probably, according to Principal Cumming, handle on a co-operative basis nearly 60 per cent. of the apple crop of Nova Scotia.

In one locality in Western Ontario the farmers within a comparatively limited area have, from an initial investment of \$14,000.00, reaped a benefit of \$120,000 in five years' time, in the sale of grain alone.

In the organization of the "United Farmers of Ontario" the East is following the lead of the Prairie Provinces, and doubtless the United Farmers Co-operation Company will soon be able to give a good account of itself.

UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA—The Secretary of the United Farmers of Alberta furnishes the following statement:

"In Alberta a number of organizations more or less co-operative in character were formed early in the century, but the first big step forward was the organization of the United Farmers of Alberta in 1909. This Organization is purely educational in its character and the revenue so far has been drawn entirely from its membership and voluntary contributions. Through the work of its central office however, the Association has been responsible for the incorporation of a number of successful District Co-operative Associations, engaged in a general trading business. The movement has been more marked since the passing of the Co-operative Trading Companies Act, which was secured from the Provincial Government in the spring of 1913. The Association had in October, 1914, some 660 local branches, and a membership of about 16,000 farmers. An ever increasing number of the local branches are engaged in co-operative trading, both buying and selling, and the next few years should show a very rapid growth in this direction.

"In 1913 the United Farmers of Alberta secured a Special Act of Parliament for the incorporation of the Alberta Farmers, Co-operative Elevator Co. Ltd. The report of the first year's work of this company is not yet printed, but at the annual meeting of the shareholders, held a short time ago, it was shown that commencing operations with some fifty elevators this number had since been increased by the end of the first year to eighty and that 3,774,381 bushels of grain had been handled in the first twelve months in the face of the keenest competition. In addition, the company had organized a Live Stock Department which had handled in the first six months of its existence approximately 30,000 hogs, besides a number of sheep and cattle. The bulk purchasing department of the company had handled approximately \$300,000 worth of flour, feed, lumber, binder twine, coal and other commodities which had been distributed to the farmers in the Province at a low margin of profit."

CO-OPERATIVE BUSINESS IN SASKATCHEWAN—The Secretary of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association furnishes the following statement:

"In the Province of Saskatchewan where the great Western Farmers' Movements had their birth, co-operative organization has obtained a stage of advancement compatible with the greatness of her agricultural industries.

The parent organization is the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, primarily an educational institution whose chief object was the organization of the farmers to secure better conditions in the marketing of grain. This Association has grown very large, having now (1914) more than 800 local Associations at as many different points throughout the Province and all the larger co-operative movements in the province are directly the outcome of the work of this body of organized farmers.

The more important of these co-operative mercantile organizations of Saskatchewan are the Municipal Hail Insurance Commission, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, and the Co-operative Wholesale Department of the Association itself. Each of these is a splendid illustration of how very large business can be carried on by the farmers with small cash capital and with very great savings to themselves if properly organized.

THE MUNICIPAL HAIL INSURANCE SCHEME.—The Municipal Hail Insurance Commission has carried on business for two seasons with most gratifying results. During its first year of operation the scheme had to endure the severe test of facing the heaviest hail losses ever sustained by Saskatchewan. The splendid manner in which it bore this test has won it the confidence of all the people. 126 municipalities are now under the operations of the Co-operative Hail Insurance Plan, carrying during 1914 an insurance risk aggregating the enormous sum of \$25,000,000 spread over 5,000,000 acres of crop. The cost of hail insurance to the farmers under this plan is from 20 to 25 per cent. of what was formerly paid to capitalistic companies.

THE SASKATCHEWAN CO-OPERATIVE ELEVATOR COMPANY.—This Company was established in 1911 as a direct result of the efforts of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association. It has had the most remarkable growth and success of any institution of its kind in America and probably in the world.

During 1911—its first year of operations—The Company owned and operated 46 elevators, handling 3,250,000 bushels of grain. During 1912 its elevators numbered 137, handling 12,900,000 bushels, whereas during 1913, with its 192 elevators, the Company handled the enormous quantity of 19,500,000 bushels of grain.

There are now 217 locals of this Company fully organized with 215 elevators in operation. During its financial year of 1913-14, besides paying into the pockets of the farmers increased prices a very large amount of money, it was able to make for its 15,000 farmer shareholders above all running expenses the handsome profit of \$285,000.00.

THE SASKATCHEWAN GRAIN GROWERS' CO-OPERATIVE DEPT.—The Co-operative Wholesale Department of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association was instituted during the present year 1914. So rapid has been the development of this undertaking that already hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of various commodities have been purchased by the members through this department, with a saving to themselves of many dollars per member.

There is now a movement under weigh for the incorporation of all the locals of this body under the Saskatchewan Agricultural Co-operative Associations Act, the intention being that these Associations shall own the shares of the Central body which will make co-operative distribution of its profits to the locals. These will in turn distribute their profits to their members in proportion to the business done by each, thus establishing in its absolute purity all the true principles of co-operative merchandising on the same basis as are the great British Co-operative Societies.

As rapidly as the work can be organized for efficient service new lines are being added to those now handled. The principal commodities thus far dealt in include Binder Twine, Lumber, Metal Sheeting and Siding, Asphalt Roofing, Building Paper, Beaver Board, Wire Fencing and Posts, Ready Mixed Paints, besides large quantities of Flour and Feed, Fresh Fruit, Apples, Potatoes and other vegetables, and a full line of staple Groceries. Large quantities of oats

also are being supplied to farmers in the dried out districts of the West, while more than 400 carloads of coal have been purchased by its members through this department during the first two months of the season.

"All these goods are supplied to the locals in any regular wholesale quantities and always at the lowest wholesale prices. The Central Office makes no charge upon the locals for this service, but secures its earnings back of the regular wholesale prices. All business is strictly for cash and with the organized farmers only."

THE GRAIN GROWERS' GRAIN COMPANY—Probably the largest co-operative enterprise in Canada is The Grain Growers' Grain Company Limited.

Let me quote at length from the Sixth Annual Report, which gives a good idea of the principles and ideals of the movement. "A comparison of the past year's business of the Company with that of other years is very interesting. The volume of business we have handled in the past season is by far the greatest in our history for any year, being 27,750,000 bushels as against 18,000,000 bushels for last year. You will remember that a premium of twenty per cent. was placed on our stock a year ago, raising the selling price of our stock from \$25.00 to \$30.00 per share. There has been a nice increase in our capital for the year. A year ago the amount of capital stock subscribed amounted to \$615,000, of which \$492,000 has been paid. At the end of June last the amount of subscribed stock had increased to \$683,000 and the amount paid in to \$586,000, an increase in the latter of almost \$100,000."

"To secure the best results in the elevator operation it is necessary to keep your staff of operators the season round. The handling of grain usually occupies about eight months of the year, from, say, the first of September to the first of May. For the other four months the elevator has little or nothing to do. This is the season of the year, however, when such materials as, for instance, lumber, twine and implements will largely be handled. I see no reason whatever why, by commencing in a small way, we could not develop the handling of such commodities as these and other staple articles such as coal and flour, and do so to the advantage of our shareholders at the respective points. I have been informed on excellent authority that the Doukhobors, for instance, buy their farm machinery from 25 to 35 per cent. cheaper than the average farmer in Western Canada buys the same stuff. The Co-operative Societies in Great Britain built up their business step by step to the point where they have their own manufacturing plants where they manufacture a very great deal of the necessities of life which reach their members through their own societies."

EXTENSION OF CO-OPERATION—"One thing is absolutely certain, we have got to ultimately extend the co-operative principles into every department of our business. The money power of Canada is becoming very great. The dangers that might arise from the abuse of such powers can be largely overcome by co-operative banks, and co-operative societies for the loaning of money and the insurance of property. Such in brief is a scheme that I believe is quite possible of success, and one which the Company could put into effect as soon as it is able to do so."

THE SOCIAL TASK—"In addition to what I have outlined, which might be properly termed the commercial aspect of our business, the Company has a distinct mission to perform in the way of improving social and economic conditions generally. I believe that much progress has been made in the past five years in changing the current of thought among our people. Undoubtedly much more remains to be done. There is no doubt that when we get down to bottom principles that the Land Question, as it is frequently termed, is above all others, the paramount question. It is a fact beyond dispute that the natural resources of our Dominion, particularly of Western Canada, have been most ruthlessly and foolishly squandered. Every human being gets his sustenance from nature. The clothes he wears, the food he eats, the habitation that shelters him come from Nature's bounty. In other words man is essentially a land animal, his very life depends on access to the resources of Nature. It is equally

certain that the Almighty endowed our country with its great natural resources, coal, timber, fisheries, minerals and rich productive soil for the benefit of all His creatures. What has happened? A few far-seeing individuals, soulless corporations, like the railway companies, various other companies, composed usually of a few individuals, have been permitted to secure control in a very large degree of our immense natural resources, and having secured control, they turn round to the great mass of the common people and say 'This is ours. It is true you must have it in order to live, but you must pay us the price'—and this ruthless robbery of our natural inheritance has brought thousands and thousands, even in our young country, face to face with actual want. Why should a few individuals be permitted to secure control of our coal and of our timber, two things that are absolutely necessary to those who live in Western Canada and be permitted to extort from the people who must have them in some form or other? This, when we get down to bottom principles, is one of the great questions that must be solved, and it is my earnest hope that The Grain Growers' Grain Company Limited may become a great and active agency for the dissemination of information that will solve this and similar questions on right and proper lines. So pitiless has the commercial world become that there are those who would corner fresh air and sunshine had they the power to do so and sell it to suffering humanity. I have only touched on this question to point out that it is our duty to aid.

LESSONS FROM THE OLD LAND—"I think the Company could also do much by making enquiry and research in countries like New Zealand, Denmark and also Great Britain, where progressive principles of government have made tremendous strides in recent years. A few thousand dollars could well be expended in an investigation of actual results in these countries and the effect on the lives of the people, and gathering information and presenting it in a simple and concise form for the enlightenment and education of our own farmers. I feel that I cannot urge this too strongly upon your attention. I believe that in the development of co-operative principles a finer, truer, Christian spirit is developed. Great Britain today is startling the world with the progressive legislation it has introduced in the last few years. Opinion and sentiment in Great Britain, which makes such legislation possible, was created and fostered and developed by the co-operative agencies that have been working there for the last forty years."

NOTE—An effort has recently been made to establish a more sympathetic understanding between city workers and country workers. Psychologically these two groups are far apart, but economically their interests are identical. The exploitation from which they both now suffer would not long continue if they could get together.

Mr. Roderick McKenzie has furnished the following exposition of the principles of the co-operative movement:

CO-OPERATION

"The co-operative plan is the best plan of organization, wherever men have the right spirit to carry it out. Under this plan any business undertaking is managed by a committee, every man has one vote and only one vote; and everyone gets profits according to what he sells or buys or supplies. It develops individual responsibility, and has a moral as well as a financial value over any other plan."—Theodore Roosevelt.

"No thought, however good, is good at all unless translated into good conduct."—Mary Russell Mills.

"The purchasing power of the people—the profits on the things you must buy and sell—is your most valuable possession. You can, if you will, co-operate with your own neighbors, establish and run your own business, and thereby save to yourself and them this most valuable possession; or you can by refusing to do so, continue

as in the past, building up the unjust corporations and 'swollen fortunes' of the 'special privileged few' by continuing to patronize their system.

"It is 'up to the people' to own and conduct their own business and make it successful. You produce the wealth, what are you doing with it?"

"Every man and every woman who has paid the membership fee and made settlement for one or more shares is a voting member and shares fully in the profits."

"Every subscriber to stock in such a store should be honest and pay cash for his stock if possible to do so. Money from some source must be in hand to capitalize and start the business, but if a person does not have the cash, good notes can be used by the management at the banks, and all such notes, together with accumulated interest, must be promptly taken care of by the makers when due."

"True co-operation is not a get-rich-quick scheme. It is plain common sense and means doing business in the simplest, safest and most economical way. Its success is due to the practical application of modern business principles that will insure the success of any undertaking—whether it be a billion dollar trust or a co-operative grocery store."—*The Co-operator*.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FARMING INDUSTRY—All successful industrial organizations have come from within the industry; so, too, agriculture must organize its own forces. Such an organization must solve three problems:

First—It must break the isolation of farmers by drawing them together in a common bond and community of interest.

Secondly—It must place the farmer as nearly as possible on the same financial basis as his prosperous city brother. It must secure to him a fair share of the fruit of his toil. It must restore agriculture to its proper position and dignity, which have been lost through bad business methods.

Thirdly—It must replace bad business methods with good business methods, because it is difficult for the farmer, from the nature of his work, to become familiar with the minutiae of buying and selling. Organization must attach directly to farming interests a class of men who shall assume this work, and become the farmer's middlemen. This class must be strongly controlled by and responsible to the farmers.

CO-OPERATION, WHAT IT IS—C. R. Fay, the author of "Co-operation at Home and Abroad," defines a co-operative society as an association for the purpose of joint trading, originating among the weak, and conducted always in an unselfish spirit on such terms that all who are prepared to assume the duties of membership may share in its reward, in proportion to the degree in which they make use of their association.

¶ In the country the main activity of co-operation is a solution of the problem of marketing. It is the farmers' medium of solving the problem of how to overcome isolation in business, the difficulties of transportation, and other conditions that so long have baffled them. In both town and country it has a great field of usefulness in obtaining credit as an aid to production.

CO-OPERATION VS. THE COMBINE—The co-operative society differs from the trust, combine, etc., in that it is an association of the many for the benefit of the many; whereas the trust is a union of the few. Co-operation specially aids and builds up the small producer, the combine crushes the small producer. The combine is an association of the strong, bold and unyielding and exclusive; the co-operative society is an association of those who gather together and try to help themselves out of weakness into strength. Agricultural co-operation cannot be said to be a monopoly. It does not tend to hinder anyone from entering the field of its activities, but only tries to organize its members as an aid to marketing.

The co-operative movement has for its object the improvement of the position of farmers. It seeks to place capital in their hands by a system that will enable them to retain a larger share of the profits of their labor, and thus become also a capitalist class; in so doing to moralize trade, moderate competition and advocate men as citizens and unite them in brotherly sympathy.

On one side we see great fortunes, often accompanied by selfish expenditure and luxurious living, and on the other side such poverty as to deprive men, not only of leisure and opportunities of improvement, but frequently of even the bare necessities of life.

Capital in itself is good and necessary to agriculture. What is bad is its conservation in a few hands. Our aim is to establish a system which will cause it to be distributed more widely and by bridging over the gulf between those who toil and capitalists, to enable the toiler to enjoy in the widest and most unselfish manner the advantages that money can bring.

It is impossible to over estimate the advantages that may result from association, not only because by it the faculties of individuals are sharpened and their hopes strengthened through contact with others, and because the qualities of some supply those that are lacking in others, but chiefly on account of the irresistible moral forces that can be exerted by numbers united in the common aid.

SUMMARY OF ADVANTAGES—1—By becoming a member you help a movement that aims at economic, social and moral reform.

2—You recognize the claim men have on each other for help and sympathy.

3—You foster such virtues as prudence, forethought, self control, toleration and trust, without which it is impossible for co-operation to exist.

4—You give to yourself and others the opportunity of a higher education, by means of libraries, lectures, etc., of administrative experience by means of attendance at committees, general meetings and conventions.

5—Sales without effort, by means of collective buying and selling.

6—Your savings obtain a higher interest than can be had without equal security elsewhere.

WHAT CO-OPERATIVE SALES AND SUPPLIES DO FOR FARMERS—

The experience of the farmers of Europe show what can be done by co-operation.

First—It has gathered together the scattered products of the numerous farmers, classified and graded them. It has taken these products and placed them on the market as the produce of one association, or federation of associations, of which the farmer is a member. It has retained the interest and control of the farmer over his products until they reached the consuming market. It has created a community of interest.

Second—It has attached strength to the interest of farming communities through those who act as the farmers' middlemen—that is, the sales agents of the associations. These middlemen are responsible to the farmer, and are hired and paid by him to work for his interests.

Third—It has relieved him of the business of marketing, thus leaving him free to give more attention to those things for which his nature and training is better fitted. It has also taught him the value of science and improvement in production.

Fourth—By means of all the foregoing benefits it has greatly increased his products and restored a sense of dignity to the calling.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES VS. JOINT STOCK COMPANIES—

The difference between a joint stock company and a co-operative society is fundamental. A stock company sets out to earn dividends as the prime object of its being. Its investors or promoters are not its customers. It is not interested in serving its stock-holders except to earn dividends. A co-operative society, on the other hand, does not set out to earn dividends as the primary object of its being. Its profits are important rather by the service it is to the members as a whole than on the basis of dividends. Dividends are fixed by the constitution and do not vary.

While in many respects the co-operative society employs the same methods as those in use in business organizations, yet it differs in important essentials. Business organizations would look upon the merging of different co-operative societies into one union as the very perfection of the ideal. Co-operative societies have not found it so. Simplicity and elasticity are the watchwords of true co-operation.

In Denmark co-operative societies have found true working together in a "federation" useful. Although they are obviously co-operative enough to work together, they still maintain the control of individual societies.

Credit societies in Europe have found property security a necessity in the loan business, but they have proven that personal security is much better and have thus been enabled to reach the poorest of the poor; provided they had a good character. Thus the business enterprise has become an uplifting moral force.

The co-operative movement has proved unlimited liability to be perfectly reasonable and safe in business association. It has shown that commercial enterprise is not necessarily a close combine for benefitting only a few, or on the other hand, disorderly competition between individuals. It has shown that all the worthy features of commercial enterprise can be preserved and at the same time give equal benefits to co-operative workers and eliminate the disastrous loss occasioned by extreme competition.

Perhaps the most feasible method of examining the co-operative societies is to outline the standards accepted by European co-operatives, placed alongside the outline of the essential features of a joint stock company.

JOINT STOCK COMPANY

Limited or unlimited liability.
Capital secured by selling shares.
Shares held by general public.
Dividends on shares not fixed.
Votes according to stock held.
Proxies.
Profits divided on basis of shares held.
Profits divided only with shareholders.
Object of company to earn dividends.
Two interested classes: Dividend seekers and operators proper.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

Limited or unlimited liability.
Capital secured by selling shares.
Shares held by members only.
Dividends on shares fixed by constitution.
One vote only per member.
No proxies.
Profits divided on basis of business done with association.
Profits divided in part also with non-members dealing with association.
Object of association: To serve members.
One interested class: Operators, i.e., members only.

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STUDY 5

Proposed Solutions: C—Bigger Profits The Economic Situation

By R. McKenzie

"It is absolutely useless to expect a solution of the rural problem from any source outside of the farmers themselves. We need never expect our merchants and manufacturers and lumber magnates and bank presidents and politicians to bury their selfish interests and advocate measures that will help the farming community, even on the broadest national grounds, if their own interests are to be affected in the slightest degree."—E. C. Drury.

In "The Country Life Problem," Study No. 2, we discovered that the difficulty surrounding rural life and the maintaining of a prosperous and contented rural population is fundamentally economic; that the bad farming, undesirable social conditions and improper housing on our farms are primarily due to the fact that the farmers cannot get enough for the commodities required to make the home comfortable and improve the farm in exchange for the crop grown. A farmer may increase his production by better farming methods; he may introduce better business methods; but it is not the amount that he produces, but what he gets in exchange for what he produces that enables him to better his condition and that of his family.

We speak in terms of dollars and cents of what the farmer gets for his produce and in the same terms of what he has to purchase. If we could speak in terms of bushels of grain and head of stock, and what he could get in exchange for these, the question would be better understood.

Farm and Dairy gives the following interview with Professor Reynolds of the Ontario Agricultural College:

"IN THE HOLE"—WHY?—"Had I not been able to market at good prices I would have been 'in the hole' on the year's business. Good marketing may mean a difference between profit and loss. For instance, I sold my milk to a special market last year for \$1,300. At ordinary prices the same milk would have netted me only \$900. The difference of \$400 might turn a possible profit into a loss on a small farm such as this."

"But all cannot market at a special price," I remarked.

"That is true," came the ready rejoinder.

"And in the fact that the majority of farmers must market their products for less than the cost of production, labor and investment considered, do we not find the real cause of excessive rural depopulation?"

"Quite right."

"An expression used by a young farmer a few days ago occurs to me now. 'If we charge interest on our investment we get nothing for labor; if we place fair value on our labor we get nothing for interest on investment.'"

Here is a trained man, bringing to the farm the advantage of a trained mind, an intimate knowledge of the sciences that apply to agriculture, who is conducting operations on a practical basis, that is well-calculated to produce maximum results from minimum expense, and yet he confesses that if he could not sell his products at something above the regular market price he would go "in the hole."

WHY MEN MOVE TO THE CITY—Take the following illustration: A farmer took a homestead in Central Alberta several years ago. He brought

130 acres under cultivation inside of five years, built a small but comfortable home and got married. In 1912 he threshed 1,400 bushels oats, 175 bushels flax and 1,200 bushels wheat; paid 25 cents a bushel for threshing the flax, 7 cents for threshing the oats and 9 cents for threshing the wheat. He got 74 cents for flax delivered at the elevator, 18 cents for oats and 40 cents for wheat. He bought flour for his family around \$3.50 per sack of 98 lbs—that is, he exchanged his wheat at the rate of 2-3 cent. per lb. for flour made out of the wheat at 3½ cents per lb. Anything else he needed for his farm or his home had a proportionate exchange value. The freight charges from his point of delivery to Fort William were 30 cents per 100 lbs on wheat and oats and 1 cent more on flax. Elevator owners got around 8 cents for elevating, storage and loading on track. To deliver this man's crop in Fort William, the division would be somewhat as follows:—

	Wheat	Oats	Flax
C.P.R. got for freight	18c.	10 1-5c.	17 1-3c.
Elevator for loading and storage	8c.	7c.	10c.
Threshing	9c.	7c.	25c.
Farmer had left after paying for threshing	33c.	11c.	49c.

Being a good farmer and a good business man he recognized that he could not raise a family and make good citizens of them under these economic conditions. Consequently, he traded off his farm for sub-division lots some six miles from the centre of the City of Winnipeg and secured a position in a business office in the city.

Clearly what this man needed was not better farming, because the results he produced testified to expert knowledge. Nor did he need better business methods. He needed bigger profits—in other words, a condition that would give him more flour, boots and shoes, lumber, implements, etc., in exchange for what he produced by his own labor on his own land.

WHO MAKES THE PROFITS?—While the farmers do not realize sufficient out of the products of their labor to live so as to produce the best kind of citizenship, other interests make large profits and grow wealthy on the commerce produced by the products of the farm.

The census of manufacturers of the Dominion show that the ascertained surplus, after deducting cost of raw material, wages, power, etc., from the gross earnings of manufacturers, show an increase in net earnings on capitalization from 19.82% in 1901 to 25¾% in 1911.

On the other hand, the census returns compute the farmer's gross earnings as at 18.55% of the capital invested in 1901 and this has fallen in the decade to 17½% in 1911. Note, the manufacturers' net earnings increased in the decade, while the farmer's gross earnings decreased, notwithstanding the cost of production to the farmer had vastly increased during that period. The farmer's raw material consisting of seeds, manure and other fertilizers, feed of animals fed in excess of maintenance to produce flesh, milk, eggs and wool and to perform labor, is not taken into account, though the value of food raised on the farm and fed on the farm is included in the gross revenue. The farmer's own labor and that of his family, like his raw material, is not counted. Were the value of the farmer's raw material, together with wages for himself and members of his family, deducted from the ascertained gross revenue, there would be nothing left for interest on his investment.

INDUSTRIAL PROFITS—Sir Edmund Walker, before the Banking and Commerce Committee, April 16th, 1913, in attempting to prove that banks do not make undue profits, stated: "I have thought it best to begin by a statement of the profits of 100 industrial businesses, selected from 49 different callings, covering a very wide range of industry.

PROFITS OF 100 INDUSTRIAL BUSINESSES IN CANADA

Capital and surplus	\$76,044,587.
Profits	13,563,363.
Percentage of profits	17.84%

In many cases there is goodwill included in the capital. If this could be removed the percentage would be higher.

CANADIAN LOAN AND INVESTMENT COMPANIES

RESULTS IN 1912

Name of Company	Net Earnings	Dividends
North of Scotland Can. Mtge. Co.	23.69%	17.5%
Toronto General Trust	23.39%	10.0%
Standard Trust	21.00%	9.0%
Union Trust	20.64%	10.0%
Guelph and Ontario Investment and Savings	19.90%	10.0%
B.C. Permanent Loan	17.63%	10.0%
Huron and Erie Loan and Savings	16.88%	11.0%
National Trust	16.19%	10.0%
London and Canadian Loan and Agency	15.65%	7.0%
Canada Landed and National	15.35%	7.5%
Northern Canadian Mortgage	15.10%	8.1%
Standard Loan	15.00%	6.0%
Toronto Savings and Loan	14.68%	10.0%
Home Investment and Savings	14.01%	9.0%
Canada Permanent	13.76%	10.0%
Ontario Loan and Debenture	13.63%	8.0%
Great West Permanent Loan	13.34%	9.0%
Total	289.84%	162.1%
Average	17.04%	9.5%

MEMO. OF CANADIAN BANKS—Showing paid up capital, net profits for last financial year, and per cent. of profits made on capital.

Name	Capital	Net Profit	Per Cent.
Metropolitan Bank	\$ 1,000,000.00	\$ 168,841.58	16.4 1/5
Bank of Toronto	5,000,000.00	835,787.04	16.3 1/5
Royal Bank of Canada	11,500,000.00	1,527,324.77	13.1 1/3
Bank of Hamilton	3,000,000.00	495,860.50	16.1 1/3
Bank of Commerce	15,000,000.00	2,400,000.00	16.0
Bank of Vancouver	825,000.00	40,395.00	4.7 1/8
Bank of Nova Scotia	4,642,450.00	970,544.00	20.3 1/4
Bank of Montreal	16,000,000.00	2,518,408.00	15.3 1/4
Standard Bank	2,429,275.00	462,079.00	19.0
Dominion Bank	5,000,000.00	901,529.00	18.0
Union Bank	5,000,000.00	706,832.00	14.0
Quebec Bank	2,500,000.00	294,804.00	11.3 1/4
Northern Crown Bank	2,677,996.00	291,094.00	10.3 1/4
Bank of Ottawa	3,500,000.00	640,220.00	18.1 1/3
Merchants Bank	6,747,680.00	1,338,844.00	19.3 1/4
Bank of British N. A.	4,866,666.00	632,117.00	13.0
Sterling Bank	991,896.00	107,876.00	10.3 1/4
Imperial Bank	6,000,000.00	1,004,340.00	16.2 1/3
Home Bank	1,288,311.00	140,030.00	10.3 1/4
Total	\$97,969,274.00	\$15,476,925.89	15%

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF M. G. G. A.—The Secretary of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association gave the following statement to the press in 1912:

"It is a well known fact that the artisans and laborers of the cities of England can buy flour, bacon, ham, cheese and meats cheaper than the artisans and the laborers of the City of Winnipeg, where the flour is manufactured and the meats are cured. The Census and Statistics Monthly, issued by the Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, quotes Manitoba patent flour on July 28th at 29s. 9d. for 280 lbs. in Mark Lane, London, equal to \$2.50 per sack of 98 lbs. The Corn Trade News gives the price of Manitoba flour in Liverpool on Sept. 10th, 28s. 9d., equal to \$2.45 per sack of 98 lbs. The mills that manufacture that flour in Winnipeg charge the trade here \$3.15 per sack of 98 lbs. and the householder pays \$3.35. A 7 lb. sack of flour costs the householder here 30 cents and the householder in Manchester and Liverpool 22 cents.

July 29th	Liverpool Cents	Winnipeg Cents
Canadian Bacon	14 to 15	15 to 21
Canadian Ham, Liverpool	15½ to 17½	17 to 19
American Ham, Liverpool	13 to 14	19 to 21
Canadian Cheese, Liverpool	13 to 14	15½ to 15¾

The prices quoted are wholesale in Winnipeg; what the consumer pays is very much higher. These few illustrations will indicate to what extent the people of Canada have to unreasonably contribute.

The fact that our millers and meat packers will pay freight on their products thousands of miles and sell cheaper than at their mills is an anomaly that is explicable on no other ground but that of protection and restriction in trade.

Great Britain has no tax on food and no restrictions in trade, leaves her market open to sellers of food stuffs from every part of the globe, consequently her people can buy the products we raise on the farms of Manitoba manufactured at our own door, very considerably cheaper than we can buy them ourselves.

The laboring man of Great Britain can buy flour made out of Manitoba wheat, in Manitoba mills, cheaper than the Winnipeg laborer who lives under the shadow of those mills.

The Manitoba farmer pays more for flour manufactured out of wheat he raises on his own farm, by Manitoba mills, than the British farmer pays for it. The same is true of bacon, beef and everything else he raises.

"The theory is advanced that if the farmer secured high prices for his products, the laboring man would consequently have to pay more. This fallacy protectionists persistently hold before the wage earners. It might be true if the farmer sold his product direct to the consumer. The farmer sells wheat, not flour; he sells hogs, not ham and bacon; he sells cattle, not beef, and so on all along the line. It is the man that comes in between the farmer and the breakfast table of the consumer that sets the price for what the producer gets and the consumer pays."

The Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, after a good deal of investigating, has stated that for every dollar the consumer pays for farm produce the farmer gets 45 cents. The difference goes to middlemen.

The Canadian farmer sells his hog at 7 cents per lb., the consumer pays 20 cents to 30 cents for his ham and bacon. Up till 1913 the farmer sold his cattle around 3½ cents per lb. on the hoof. At the same time the consumer was paying 15 cents to 30 cents per lb. for beef.

The problem confronting the Canadian farmer so as to increase his profit is not to raise the cost of living to the consumer, but to reduce the cost of distribution. Two main forces affecting both the produce of the farmer and the cost of living to the man in the city are protection and transportation. The cost of transportation can and should be reduced. At the same time, the Canadian farmer cannot do without transportation facilities, but we can do without protection, and the Canadian farmers ought to get together and cut protection out. The beneficiaries of protection and restriction in traffic will not do it.

CANADIAN NATIONAL ECONOMY—As supplementing Mr. McKenzie's statements, the following quotations from James J. Harpell (1911) are of interest:

"In order to understand the effect which this process of elimination has had upon the country one requires to visit the thousands of villages and towns, which but a few years ago were thriving places, possessing many promising young industries that at least supplied local requirements and by the labor they employed provided an important market for the agricultural products of the community. Today many of these places are dilapidated and half deserted. The machinery in the plants lies rusting. The neighboring farmers, instead of butchering their cattle, hogs and sheep for the local market are compelled to sell on the hoof for what they can get from the large slaughtering houses and packers. Their grain is also exported as it comes from the thresher instead of being ground, as it used to be, for home consumption, at the local grist mill; which has also been closed up in many cases. Thus the farmers' products are

shipped out of the community in the rawest condition, while the finished articles they require are shipped back to them. Such a system of waste, coupled with the opportunity it gives the middleman for fixing both buying and selling prices, could produce only one result—a serious decrease in profits.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE DRIFT TO THE CITY—This, together with the loneliness of the changed social conditions brought about by the decrease in the population of the adjoining town or village, produced an uneasiness and a disposition in the younger members of rural families to leave the community. The effect of decreasing profits and increasing scarcity of farm help soon began to be seen in ill-kept and poorly cultivated farms and in a desire on the part of the farmers to sell. That this condition exists in Eastern and Central Canada today more than ever before may be seen by the increasing number of people who are leaving the country, some going to Western Canada and some to the United States. The fact that by going West they still remain within Canadian boundaries is only a fortunate circumstance and does not alter the condition that compelled them to leave their former homes.

"During the last ten years there has been a decrease of 25% in the quantity of livestock exported, a decrease of 50% in the quantity of animal products exported, a decrease of 50% in the quantity of all kinds of grain except wheat exported."

FAVORABLE (?) CONDITIONS IN WEST TEMPORARY—"If it were not for the two new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, Canada would cut as sorry a figure in the production of grain as she does in dairy and other agricultural products. The circumstances which continue to increase the wheat acreage of Saskatchewan and Alberta are quite artificial, and if nothing is done to improve the condition of the Canadian farmer before these artificial conditions are removed, the decrease in the agricultural production of these provinces will be even greater than it has been in any of the older provinces. Owing to their greater distances from the markets, the producers in these provinces receive less for their products, while paying more for what they have to buy than do those of the Eastern provinces. The very large sums of money that are being spent in these two Western provinces on railroad building and the speculation in the new lands that are thus being opened up, coupled with a high-pressure and expensive system of immigration, have produced an artificial condition that cannot be expected to last."

"This very serious falling off in agricultural production is not due to any lack of industry on the part of the Canadian farmer; neither is it due to any lack of agricultural education or technical direction, because in this respect Canada is as well equipped as any country in the world, and much better than most. There is only one cause, and it may be seen in whatever direction one chooses to look, viz.—the expensive cost of living and production, without a corresponding increase in the value of agricultural products."

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

- (1)—According to Harpell the cash price of a Canadian made harvester in the Province of Alberta is \$155; in Ontario the price is \$132. But the same binder can be bought in Great Britain for \$121. Why?
- (2)—Resolved that to relieve distress in the city the Government should settle "out of works" on the land.
- (3)—Resolved that production should be for use, not for profit.

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STUDY 6

The Rural Home—Yesterday and Tomorrow

"The latest discovery in the realm of agriculture is that the farm is not merely a great laboratory where by wonderful processes of combination and growth the food of the world is produced, but a home as well; and that any true agricultural science must look beyond the crops and livestock to the family on the farm, the men and women living there, the boys and girls growing up."—La Follette's, Nov. 25, 1911.

Some years ago in "Sketches from Western Life" I gave this little picture of a farm home.

Let us peep into the home of a typical Ontario farmer, who has just moved out with his family. The house is a two-storey "frame" building. The "downstairs" is divided into two compartments. The first we enter is the kitchen or living room. A large stove, a table, a cupboard and several chairs are the chief articles of furniture. A washdish and water-pail stand on a bench in the corner. Nearby two rows of pegs are filled with caps and coats, above which is suspended a rifle or shot-gun. Convenient shelves fill the corners and advertising calendars adorn the walls.

We pass through the kitchen to the parlör or "the room." This has been directly imported from the East. Along one side runs the old horse-hair sofa, with its crazy-work cushion. "The rocker," the seat of honor, fills the corner, while uncomfortable chairs stand stiffly along the walls. But the crowning glory—the envy of less fortunate neighbors—is the small American organ. This does daily duty as a mantel shelf, and, when visitors come in, is an unfailing source of entertainment.

On the centre-table is arranged the household library. The big family Bible—the repository of precious recipes and funeral notices—forms a solid foundation. Upon this is placed an illustrated work "From Cradle to Grave," being a symposium of all needful moral and spiritual advice. Next comes "The Life of Queen Victoria" and capping the pyramid a presentation volume of poems. Flanking this formidable pile are a "Handy Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge," "From Canal Boy to President," and several Sunday school reward books.

Large framed pictures of William of Orange and Sir John A. Macdonald, or of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the King and Queen occupy two of the walls. On another, a devout little girl, crowned with a garland of flowers, plays with a very meek and angular lamb. Opposite, an enlarged and colored copy of "mother when she was a girl" attests the skill of a travelling artist. Over the organ is hung a seed or wool wreath—a memorial of the labor and patience of a maiden aunt. A solemn Sabbath air seems to pervade the room and we breathe more freely as we re-enter the cheery every-day life of the kitchen.

The virtue of hospitality here retains its ancient pre-eminence. The stranger is welcomed and freely given the best that the house can supply. His need claims the most liberal assistance.

Neighbors are, necessarily, more or less dependent upon one another. Hence they are intimately associated and take a deep interest in one another's welfare. But this sometimes leads to serious evil. Everyone knows all about every one else's business. If Dave Brown buys a new team from Pete Smith the whole neighborhood learns all the details of the deal. If young Sandy McDougall

invests in a top buggy he is already as good as married to Maggie Burke. But such gossip is rarely malicious and is indulged in largely because of the lack of the more important topics of interest.

In its main lines this little sketch is suggestive of many homes East and West, especially as they were twenty-five years ago. What is the farm home accomplishing? What are its needs? What its possibilities? How can they be realized? Such are the questions which immediately suggest themselves.

FAMILY LIFE—In the farm-home family life has perhaps reached its highest development. The common task, the united family circle, sturdy manhood, sweet wholesome womanliness, open hospitality, life-long friendships, democratic relationships, genuine neighborliness, high moral standards, simple healthful pleasures, deep personal religion, a religious community consciousness—happy memories, a haunting yearning for the lost paradise—these are all the issue of the country home. Recall Burns' "Cottar's Saturday Night," or Whittier's "Snowbound."

But other than ideal elements sometimes force themselves upon our notice. The drudgery, the monotony, the barrenness, the narrow range of interests, the "closeness" in money matters, the lack of refinement, the rough horse-play, the petty jealousies and gossip, the bigotry, the conservatism, the indifference to all else than "me and my wife, my son John and his wife." These, too, are sometimes the issue of the country home. The problem is here as elsewhere, to eliminate the "unfit" and to develop in their highest all good qualities—to get rid of the weeds and to grow the best sample of No. 1 hard; and here, again, as elsewhere, brains and hard work are all the assistance that nature demands.

CITY DOMINANCE—In beginning our study of home-life we must recognize the important influence of modern conditions. The lack of such recognition and the failure to make the required adjustments are largely responsible for the drift from the country. There is a decided tendency for the city to dominate the country. Under foreign domination—when such domination is considered superior—there is a deterioration in everything native. The attempt to ape the foreign often leads to the adoption of merely superficial excellencies, and even the evils of the foreign, while on the other hand there is the concurrent abandonment of the peculiar native "gifts and graces." Thus when the country tries to copy the city, cheap factory furniture sometimes replaces the dignified massive rich old pieces that should be treasured as priceless heirlooms. Wretched bits of formal etiquette are grafted on to beautiful time-honored customs. Kid-gloves may be all very well, but the farmer's son must have sufficient independence not to wear them as he goes to his work. So party slippers may be very pretty on occasion, but the farmer's daughter must have the good sense to leave them behind when she wants to enjoy an old time picnic. The apostolic advice forms a splendid working rule, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

The trolley, the telephone, educational advantages, social opportunities, community efforts—on these the city has no monopoly; and they may well be adopted by the country. If they are so adopted instead of depleting the country of its young people they will enrich it with the fuller life that now makes the city attractive.

TRAINING FOR CITY LIFE—One of the tasks of the country home is to train leaders for the city. As someone has put it, "While city life may polish, early years upon the farm afford the brawn and brain that make possible the man of culture and influence." Whether or not this state of affairs will continue (and that depends upon the city meeting its problem) the fact is that the majority of our city leaders of today are country born and bred. The highest positions are often open to the country boy. The character of the nation bears the imprint of the character of the country home. Here is the opportunity of the country home.

Its opportunity and its heavy responsibility. For while country boys and girls are leaders in the city, many country boys and girls are also found among the city's lowest classes—the poor, the shiftless, the incompetent, the criminal. Many of them might have had a measure of success in the country, but coming to the city without preparation, they were doomed to failure. We think of

young men who have gone "all to pieces," in face of the novel temptations of city life, and young women who fell an easy prey to the first smooth-tongued rascal they encountered. Decidedly city conditions and city problems, city achievements and city dangers, should form part of the education of every country boy and girl.

TRAINING FOR COUNTRY LIFE—But all our country social workers are agreed that the training of the country boy or girl should be pre-eminently training for country life. Country life is good. Parents should work to make it better and inspire their children with the ambition to make it better still. If the farmer's ideal is that of a soft handed city job, or his wife's that of a pleasure-seeking "city lady"—and these are constantly sighed after—it is not much wonder that the country girls and boys do not stay on the farm.

Farm life is good. It can easily be made much better.

First of all must come the realization that the chief end of man is not money-making. Living is first. Many a farmer slaves from early morning to late at night, his wife slaves from still earlier in the morning to still later at night. The boys and girls slave until their eyes are opened to the situation and then they run away from it. And what is it all for? Often just to buy another quarter of a section and then another, or to add to the bank account that is to be a doubtful benefit to the next generation, or to more quickly be able to sell out and move to the city to live an aimless, dissatisfied life. Prematurely bent and broken down men and women may have been a necessary result of pioneer conditions, but today all is changed, or may be changed.

Think of the opportunities of the long winter evenings and sometimes the long winter days—opportunities for social life and culture and mental development and vocational training and all that goes to develop efficient and noble citizenship.

For years country children have been sent to the city to "finish" their education. The time is coming when city children will be sent to the country to receive a grounding in the essentials of true living.

THE FARMER'S WIFE—The central figure in the farm home is the farmer's wife. Yet, strange as it may seem, it is she who has been most neglected—perhaps on the theory that "everybody works but mother." Recently, however, the farmer's wife has been taking the matter into her own hands and illimitable possibilities are being opened up.

In 1911 there was held the First International Congress of Farm Women. As one glances through the official proceedings it seems as if a new world is being opened up. Here are some of the topics and sub-topics: Beauty of the Home—Landscape gardening, effective architecture, harmony in decorative effects, simple furniture, the dining room, etc. (all for a farm house! And why not?). Food Values—Functions of food, food combinations, daily menu (think of this, you who eat fried ham and eggs and potatoes three times a day). Physical Laws of Life—Home sanitation, cause of epidemics, danger from flies, pure air and food. Emergency Nursing and Simple Home Hygiene—Conservation of energy. Housekeeping the greatest of all industries. Women partners in the business (think of that, it sounds ominously like women's rights).

In all seriousness, has the farmer's wife had anything like her rights.

There is a yearning that finds expression in one of these papers that will draw an echoing response from the heart of many a weary hard-working woman:

"I am tired, so tired of rigid duty,
So tired of all my tired hands find to do;
I yearn, I faint for some of life's free beauty
Its loose beads with no straight string running through;
Aye, laugh, if laugh you will, at my crude speech;
But women sometimes die of such a greed—
Die for the small joys held beyond their reach,
And the assurance they have all they need."

Mary A. Townsend.

In another paper I find the following: "It has been wisely said that a nation cannot rise higher than its women. As your women are, so will your nation be. Educate a boy and you educate an individual. Educate a girl and you educate

a whole family. However, I am pleading for the best possible education for both boy and girl, for both are equally concerned in the business of home-making—the chief business of the nation—since the home is the unit of American civilization.

THE DAILY ROUND—I yield not to the temptation of suggesting to you why farm women cannot exert the influence they should in the school, church and social work of their district. Recently when this subject came up for discussion before my class studying "Country Life and Problems" a young man, in order to make his point clear, gave a summary of his mother's daily routine of work at that season of the year. It ran something like this:

- 1—Rise at 4.30 a.m.
- 2—Prepare breakfast while milking cows.
- 3—Leave dishes, hurry to the cellar, strain milk, get cold water from distant well to chill milk, carry out the sour and skimmed milk for pigs, calves and chickens; wash milk vessels and carry out "to sun."
- 4—Hurry, feed poultry.
- 5—Hurry, wash dishes.
- 6—Hurry, gather vegetables and fruit for dinner.
- 7—Prepare the same for table.
- 8—On certain days churning, baking, washing and ironing are done.
- 9—Feed poultry.
- 10—Prepare dinner.
- 11—Wash dishes, feed poultry, sew or mend, "put up" fruit or vegetables.
- 12—Get supper, wash dishes, look after poultry and milk, work in the garden.
- 13—Scrub kitchen on certain evenings—after the family have retired to prevent "tracking the floor."
- 14—Retire about 10 p.m.

This programme, you notice, takes no account of her work with the younger children. Often the farm woman must supply the wood-box or coal-hod, bring in the water from a distant well, milk the cows and spade the garden. That the average American farm woman is overburdened with physical labors, and that her complex duties of mother and housekeeper are carried on under inexcusably hard conditions as compared with those that obtain on the farm, must be charged to traditional habits of thought; yet the effect on the home-and-community life is a large factor in producing the very conditions from which so large a percentage of country people seek to escape by moving to town.

The life history of too many farm women and the relation of their industrial status to their social life is pretty well told in the few lines I shall quote from Hamlin Garland:

"Born and scrubbed, suffered and died!
That's all you need to say, elder,
Never mind sayin' 'made a bride,
Nor when her hair got grey.
Jes' say 'born an' worked t' death;
That fits it—save y'r breath.
Made me think of a clock run down
Sure's y'r born, that old woman did;
A workin' away fr' ol' Ben Brown,
Patient as Job and meek as a kid.
Till she sort o' stopped one day,
Heart quit tickin', a feller'd say.
Wasn't old, nuther, forty-six, No
Jes' got humpt, and thin an' grey,
Washin' and churnin' an' sweepin' by Joe,
Fir fourteen hours or more a day.
Worked to death, starved to death,
Died fr' lack of air and sun—
Dyin' for rest, and fr' jist a breath
O' simple praise for what she'd done.
And many's the woman this very day,
Elder, dyin' slow in that selfsame way."

One of the most suggestive papers of the Congress was by Mrs. John A. Widstoe, on "Human Labor Saving Devices." From this I quote at length:

"As a rule it must be admitted that women on the farm work very hard and that more women are overworked than men. It may not be true that in the same space of time women work harder than men, but 'man works from sun to sun; while woman's work is never done.' Work of itself is one of the prime necessities of healthy and happy life and it is the greatest blessing instead of the greatest curse that God put on his children. But man and woman also must have rest and recreation.

DRUDGERY OF A WOMAN'S LIFE—Man's work on the farm is intense while it lasts, and it may cover long hours, but when it is done, it is done, and the man rests while the earth rests. A woman works incessantly while the man does, but she has no period of rest, for busy fingers must use even the evening hours in mending, darning or keeping the clothing in good condition. During the night also, when the tired body should re-invigorate itself for the morning's toil by sound unbroken slumber, the woman is more often than not disturbed by a restless, ill or nursing child. Her daily tasks include cooking, serving, scrubbing, cleaning, sewing, laundering, waiting on the sick, and many women add to this list the feeding of pigs and chickens and making the kitchen garden. The man usually has his Sunday free, when his mind rests as well as his body. He dons his Sunday best in the morning and has most of the day to visit friends, talk about the weather—to recuperate his strength. But he does not recuperate very much unless there is a fine hot Sunday dinner waiting for him after church. Meanwhile Sunday is often the hardest day for the woman, and most holidays add heavier burdens instead of lighter ones.

BRINGING UP FAMILY—Besides the performance of her usual tasks, most women have the keen joy as well as the great strain of bearing and rearing a family of children. This alone could occupy most of a woman's energy if she did it well; but it must be done in addition to many pressing tasks and as a result many children "just grow." Most men would think it very bad policy to work their horses or use their cows to the last day before giving birth to young, but how many men ever think it necessary that a wife have a month's rest before that blessed period comes in her life?

—And so I make the statement advisedly that a woman's work is never done. She has a very few real holidays throughout her life. That makes one of two things necessary—either the average woman must have ways and means of performing her work with as little expenditure of energy as possible, or else she is going to wear out as a tired machine and the man will have to get a new wife as he gets a new mowing machine.

USE THE BRAIN TO SAVE LABOR—In the matter of securing hired help also, man's work on the farm is more easily done than woman's. While at times it may be difficult for men to get all the help they need, still more men than women are available. It is almost an impossibility to get help in the farm home, even if it can be afforded. Girls from the more thickly settled districts do not care to go to the farm. It is too lonely. Girls that are born and raised on the farm usually have all they can do to help mother, or they prefer to try the city. Of necessity mother has to do all the work until the girls are big enough to help. From every point of view it is clear that woman should be enabled to do her work in the easiest way possible. It makes for the health and happiness of the entire family.

It may be granted that women do not use in the best way all their advantages; that they may lack special training for their labor, also that they fail to use the system and intelligence which makes joyous work. They may also lack that certain progressiveness which enables men constantly to use their brains in thinking out devices for saving energy. If men would do the housekeeping for a few years we would have as fine dish-washing machines and cookers as we have hay derricks and combined harvesters. It ought to be quite as easy to invent a dish-washing machine as one which cuts, threshes and sacks the grain with one turn of the wheel. Woman's very conservatism and content is often her worst enemy.

WHO CARRIES THE PURSE?—In one respect — that of money — woman cannot help herself, because in most cases the man holds the purse strings. Most farm women make their living out of their chickens and dairy; and ready cash is a thing they seldom see. Any help or labor saving device that costs money is, for that reason, forbidden. Now this is the case, not because men as a class are stingy, nor because they do not want to help their wives, but because they do not think about it and the women do not make them think.

LABOR SAVING DEVICES IN THE HOME—This is the day of labor saving devices in the home as well as on the farm. Scarcely any man would deny their place on the farm, because he sees in their use a saving to him in dollars and cents, and that always makes a strong appeal. If a \$60 mowing machine will enable him to cut as much grass in one hour as his father cut in one day with a scythe, the argument is complete. But if a \$60 vacuum cleaner would enable his wife to do as much cleaning in one hour as her mother did in one day, he would doubtless spend a few months thinking about the expenditure of the \$60. Again, this is not necessarily because the man is hard-hearted, unfeeling or stingy, but because if he thought of it at all he would feel that man is the breadwinner, that through his labor the money and the wherewithal of life come into the home and any expenditure is therefore justified.

In order to have any and all of these appliances in the home it is not necessary to be extravagant. If, as some political economists tell us, a woman is entitled to spend one-third of the yearly income, she can plan to get first those things which mean most to her. Cement walks should be more important than the showy, costly front porch, which is seldom used except on a warm Sunday afternoon. A vacuum cleaner is much more necessary than the velvet "parlor set" or showy mahogany mantel. A well-equipped, handy kitchen ought to be much more desirable to every housewife than a well furnished showy parlor. Both are desirable, but if something must be sacrificed, let it be the things for show.

CO-OPERATIVE OWNERSHIP—A word ought to be said to farmers' wives, particularly those who live in villages, about the advisability of co-operative ownership of expensive labor saving devices. If each man who could not afford to own a threshing machine raised only as much grain as he could thresh by hand, how fast could he get ahead? It is just as feasible for half a dozen women to own a large vacuum cleaner and take turns in the use. In the same way a laundry could be equipped and used by different families on different days. Also a brick oven could be built for all the families interested. It could be done much cheaper and with what a saving of labor! If women could only be permitted to handle a little of the income of the farm and wake up to their opportunities, they could make life much happier for themselves and their loved ones."

THE FARMER AND HIS BOYS—The question of the farmer's children will be dealt with in the next study—but just here we would suggest that it is not necessary for the boy to wait till after his father is dead before he has an interest in the farm. Nor should the boy have to go to his father for every twenty-five cents that he spends. A little spending money of their own would keep many boys and girls on the farm.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

- "Resolved that a piano is not a luxury in a country home."
- "Resolved that a high school education is more to a boy than a half-section of improved land."
- "Resolved that the homestead patents should be granted to the wife and mother on the condition that she should grant the husband a monthly allowance."
- "Resolved that every farmer's wife should have one clear week's holiday in the year."

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STUDY 7

The Rural School—Its Development

"The great business of the schoolmaster is to idealize country life.

"Our country has changed from a new land of boundless virgin natural resources to a country which must husband its inheritance. . . . We cannot dodge the fact that our future commercial prosperity and the future general welfare of this country and of this state, depend not on our natural resources, but mainly upon the intelligence and the ability of the people of this country and this state."

So the progressive state of Wisconsin. And there follows a suggestive ideal with equally suggestive question marks:

"The country child should have, as a matter of right, as good an education as is offered anywhere.

All children should have:

- 1—Well trained, well paid permanent teachers.....
- 2—A ten months' school term.....
- 3—Abundant facilities for organized recreation.....
- 4—Beautiful sanitary buildings.....
- 5—Excellent large libraries.....
- 6—Expert supervision of the individual school and of the system of schools.....
- 7—Medical inspection of school children to prevent the spread of disease and the elimination of physical defects.....
- 8—Rich, well-graded course of study, actually taught.....
- 9—Practical instruction and training in agriculture or other industries.....
- 10—Community interest in maintaining or securing educational and sanitary standards in schools.....

What has your child or your neighbor's child in the country?

How do we in Canada measure up to such an ideal?

In the first place it should be noted that we have no Dominion Department of Education. This may be explained from the historical standpoint, but the fact is that as yet education in Canada is not considered of sufficient importance to demand federal stimulus or support. But recently a beginning has been made. The Commission on Technical Education, after an exhaustive study, has made its report. Then further, a measure has just been passed which provides for the expenditure of ten million dollars for agricultural education. To quote the Minister of Agriculture: "The particular form which this assistance may take may vary with the special need and conditions of each province. It will embrace the increasing of the efficiency and equipment for agricultural colleges, the establishment of agricultural schools, of dairying and horticultural schools; of short courses in agriculture; the initiation of agricultural teaching in the public schools and work by travelling instructors."

"It might well include the valuable educational work carried on by means of demonstration trains, the training of teachers in nature study, and the invaluable work of domestic science commenced with women and girls of our communities whose influence will always constitute one of the most potent forces in solving the problems we are considering."

EDUCATION IN CANADA—It would seem that a better day is dawning for rural Canada.

As to the actual educational conditions, the provinces vary greatly. In Quebec there is no compulsory education law; in Manitoba politicians disagree as to whether or not there is one; and in the other provinces the laws are not strictly enforced, especially in rural districts. The result is that tens of thousands of children are growing up in absolute illiteracy.

As illustrating conditions, let me quote from the report on English-French schools of Ontario made by F. W. Merchant in 1912.

"The irregularities in attendance are distributed throughout the year. The younger pupils are absent during the severe weather of the winter months and the older ones are kept out of school for work in the spring and in the autumn."

"It is evident from an examination of the results of all the tests applied that the English-French schools are, on the whole, lacking in efficiency. The tests combine to show that a large proportion of the children in the communities concerned leave school to meet the demand of life with an inadequate equipment in education."

"The backwardness of the older children in the small isolated communities in the districts is frequently accounted for by the fact that these children had no opportunity of attending school when they were younger."

This, of course, applies to one particular class of schools—yet this condition exists in the old Province of Ontario, which has been wont to boast of its educational system. As a matter of fact, similar criticisms to these might be made of many purely English schools in other parts of Canada, especially in the newer districts.

In comparison with members of other professions, the school teacher is poorly paid, poorly trained, has no certain tenure of office and no inviting future. As a result, the vast majority of teachers are young girls, who teach for only a few years; or young men who as quickly as possible pass into other kinds of work.

All this in spite of the fact that the future of the nation is largely in the hands of the school teacher!

"The times demand," says Foght, "1—More thorough school organization and administration. 2—Greatly increased school support. 3—Professional supervision and instruction. 4—Modern school plant. 5—Practical courses of study. 6—Centralization and consolidation of schools." Upon several of these points we should like to enlarge.

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION—In Canada we have grown up under the system of small school districts with their local boards of trustees. The only supervision is the occasional visit of an inspector.

Now without minimizing the good work done in the little log schoolhouse in the pioneer days, should we not seek to discover whether some better system cannot be found. The school, like all other institutions, must change if it is not to fall behind in the procession.

First comes the question of organization. Fiske points out what many of us who have taught in country schools have discovered for ourselves by bitter experience. "The school district is too small a unit for school management or taxation. It is democratic to a fault, but it is too easy for stingy individuals to control the situation and weaken the schools by their parsimony. Local jealousies and shameless favoritism also make the system bad."

To meet these evils many educationalists now advocate what is known as the Township System, in which the schools of a township are under a single board elected from the township at large.

INCREASE OF SCHOOL SUPPORT—This is too obvious to need discussion.

PROFESSIONAL SUPERVISION AND INSTRUCTION—In many schools young teachers—mere girls and boys—start to teach without experience and often without preliminary training. Some of these learn by degrees to teach, but at the expense of the children. They have no outside instruction or help. The visit of the inspector is perhaps an annual one, and often means little more than a general "sizing up" of conditions and a half holiday for the children. Even well-trained experienced teachers would profit greatly by frequent visits of an expert who would bring them not only new ideas, but fresh inspiration.

MODERN SCHOOL PLANT—In many districts we find new barns and little old neglected schoolhouses. Enough said!

PRACTICAL COURSE OF STUDY—Sir Horace Plunkett emphasizes this point: "But if this attraction—the attraction of common work and social intercourse with a circle of friends—is to prevail in the long run over the lure which the city offers to eye and ear and pocket, there must be a change in rural education. At present country children are educated as if for the purpose of driving them to the towns. To the pleasure which the cultured city man feels in the country—because he has been taught to feel it—the country child is insensible. The country offers continual interest to the mind which has been trained to be thoughtful and observant; the towns offer continual distraction to the vacant eye and brain. Yet the education given to country children has been invented for them in the town, and it not only bears no relation to the life they are to lead, but actually attracts them toward a town career."

CONSOLIDATION OF SCHOOLS—Let me tell you what can be accomplished in one of the, apparently, least promising districts in Canada.

Teulon, situated some forty miles North of Winnipeg, has, until recently, been the "jumping off" place on a spur line. It is located in rough scrub country and has generally been shunned by Canadian farmers. To the North are scattered Galician colonies, occupying what ought to be classified as swamp land. Settlement has been comparatively recent. The roads are poor and the people are just getting a start.

Yet here is one of the most interesting rural schools that I have ever visited. This is one of Manitoba's Consolidated schools. "Before consolidation," according to a special report issued by the Department of Education, "the Teulon village school occupied two small village lots adjacent to a livery stable. The furniture was of the most meagre kind. The school was heated by a box stove near the door. No arrangement of any kind was provided for ventilation. The walls of the room were painted a dull drab color and on them hung here and there an antiquated map or calendar. Into this small room were crowded from fifty to sixty pupils. It was almost impossible to do efficient work under such conditions."

Two years later, when I visited the school, what a change! Several weak, struggling, inefficient schools in the neighborhood had been "consolidated" and the children were brought in daily by three large vans. In addition, the Presbyterian Church had established a Home for Galician boys from the outlying settlements and these were attending the consolidated school. Altogether there was an attendance of 160 pupils doing work up to and including that for second-class teachers' certificates. Twenty-nine were doing second and third class work.

A fine new two-story building had been erected, containing four class rooms, a laboratory and teachers' room. The laboratory was equipped at an expense of \$200.00 with apparatus and material for doing efficient work in the various branches of science. There was a library of some two hundred volumes, also maps and other equipment. But further, in one room was a set of ten benches for manual training work.

The children had become interested in nature study and one of the class rooms was a veritable museum with loan collections of every conceivable description. A little local "social service club" had installed a piano, and concerts and lectures were held in the evenings. The only trouble was that already the building was quite too small.

The outside equipment was still more interesting. Adjacent to the school on the one side was a good playground with inexpensive but useful apparatus. On the other side was located a school garden and a small experimental farm. This was only about an acre in extent, but there was a wealth of flowers which made at least one beauty spot in the crude new "town." In the experimental plot there were growing some forty or fifty kinds of grain obtained from the Agricultural College. Since my visit I learn that with the co-operation of the local Agricultural Association the school has purchased a block of some three acres which will be used for school gardens and agricultural plots.

All this was largely the work of a live teacher and one or two enterprising citizens, who had managed to organize the scattered forces of the community.

What Teulon has done may be done in any district in Canada. We cannot do better than quote from a special report issued by the Manitoba Department of Education in 1911:

SLOWNESS OF RURAL SCHOOLS—"The one institution that has been merely marking time or marching with leaden footsteps is the rural school. . . . Methods of business have changed and competition is so much keener, that the boys and girls of today, who are to be the business men and women of tomorrow, must have a decidedly deeper, broader and more liberal training than their fathers. The sickle and the cradle have given way to the binder; the ox team has been replaced by the gas engine, and almost every device of fifty years ago has been given over to more modern methods. The railroads have greatly modified and changed conditions. Standards of living are entirely different. The simplicity and barrenness of yesterday have given place to the comfort and plenty of today. There is in fact but little left of the 'good old times.' The increase in population and the rapid rise in land values have rendered imperative a more intensive form of tillage. Farming is no longer merely a matter of industry and muscle, but of thought and study.

"Everything relative to the farm and farming has improved and hence it is highly necessary that the farmers' children should receive an education, and under conditions that will fit them properly to carry on their work of the future. The proper education of the boys and girls of the rural communities cannot be neglected without bringing ruin on these communities. If these advantages are not provided they will drift away into other callings.

"On the other hand, if schools of the right kind are provided and equipped and suitable facilities furnished so that all may avail themselves of the educational opportunities, these children will remain at home on the farms to receive their general education, and afterwards, when they come to take charge of affairs, will prove towers of strength to the rural communities on account of their education.

"The old-time schools as remembered by many of us are gone forever. The large attendance, the male teacher, the pupils running from six to twenty-one years of age, are things of the past. In their place is the small room of a half dozen or so small children, and perhaps a young inexperienced girl in charge. The 'good teacher' has too often gone to the town or village where the older pupils follow, or cease going to school altogether.

SMALL SCHOOLS EXPENSIVE—"The greatest weakness of the rural educational system is the small school. During the year 1910 there were 62 school districts that operated schools with an enrollment of 10 or less, the total average being 321 or 5.1 per school. These districts spend \$35,707.05, which means that the education, such as it was, cost \$111.54 per child based on the average attendance.

"There were 150 districts with an enrollment ranging from 11 to 15 and their total average attendance was 1,185 or 7.9 per district. These schools cost \$90,615.68 or \$76.47 per pupil.

"There were 211 districts operated with an enrollment ranging from 16 to 20, the total average attendance being 2,025.8 or 9.6 per district, and the total cost was \$151,092.55 or \$74.58 per pupil.

"There were 260 districts in which the enrollment was from 21 to 25, and their total average attendance was 3,025.6 or 11.7 per school. These were operated at a cost of \$190,147.36 or \$62.84 per pupil.

"The following figures show that many of the schools are far too small. There were 2 schools operated with an average attendance for the year of 2 or less; 7 with an average between 2 and 3; 12 with an average between 3 and 4; 20 with an average between 4 and 5; 36 with an average between 5 and 6; and 52 with an average between 6 and 7.

"In marked contrast with these figures are those of the City of Winnipeg, where the cost per pupil was \$34.00 and this included a full collegiate course, together with manual training and domestic science for children in the grades, and school buildings as fine and complete as any in Canada.

SMALL SCHOOLS INEFFICIENT—"But however important the financial side is, it is not the most important. With the small school there can be but poor classification and there certainly can be no life or spirit in the work. There is also but very little incentive to the children or the teacher to do their best. There is great inspiration and incentive in numbers. To add to this weakness of small enrollment and average there is that of irregularity, which practically blocks every effort made towards steady progress in the school. The smallness and irregularity are frequently caused by no lack of desire on the part of parents to have their children receive an adequate education, but rather on account of the difficulties experienced by the children in reaching school, such as long distances, inclement weather, bad roads and dangers of various kinds that are apt to befall small children, especially on their lonely walks to and from school. The small school has also a deterrent effect on the older children, who have no desire to attend school where there is no companionship of their own age. Thus many children refuse to attend school at the very age when they most need the education and training, that is from 14 to 16.

"It is also very difficult for such schools to secure good experienced teachers. The larger, graded and more attractive schools draw the best from the teaching ranks, and consequently the inexperienced teacher usually finds her training in the country school at the expense of the farmer and his children.

"There are throughout the country, no doubt, many excellent schools with good, earnest, experienced teachers in charge, yet the fact remains that a large percentage of our country schools are in the hands of inexperienced teachers, many of whom are young girls. The average age, too, of our teachers is on the decrease, which in itself is a serious matter for youthful and inexperienced teachers, with but a slight knowledge of the ways of the world, are themselves seriously handicapped when placed in charge of children whose intellectual, moral and physical education they are expected to develop. It is at this formative period of the child's life especially that it is most important that he be directed aright for as the twig is bent, so the tree is inclined."

CONSOLIDATED SCHOOLS—"Consolidated schools which have only been in operation in Manitoba for six years are fulfilling the highest expectations of their promoters in overcoming many of the difficulties under which our rural schools have been laboring.

"By consolidation is meant the merging into one large district of two or more smaller districts, thus forming a new district large enough in numbers to admit of satisfactory classification and to produce in the school a healthy spirit and energy sufficient to bring forth the best effort of teachers and pupils and large enough in territory to enable trustees to build, equip and operate a school of modern style furnishing, an education for the farmer's children, equal to that of the children of the cities, towns and villages, without their being compelled to leave home to secure it.

"On account of the enlarged size of these districts, it is necessary to provide conveyance to and from school at the public expense, for all children living one mile from the school house."

PROGRAMMES FOR RURAL SCHOOLS—Says Butterfield: "The programme needed to unite rural schools and farm communities is then, first, to enrich

the course of study by adding nature study and agriculture, and about these co-ordinating the conventional school subjects; second, to encourage the co-operation of the pupils, especially for the improvement of the school and its surroundings; third, to bring together for discussion and acquaintance the teachers and patrons of the school; fourth, so far as possible to make the school house a meeting place for the community for young people as well as old people, a place where music, art, social culture, literature, study of farming and, in fact, anything that has to do with rural education may be fostered; and fifth, to expect the teacher to have a knowledge of the industrial and general social conditions of agriculture, especially those of the community in which her lot is cast."

The discussion of the use of the school buildings as social centres will be deferred to a later study.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

Compulsory Education

- "Resolved that education should be placed under a non-partizan commission."
- "Resolved that school teachers should receive as good pay as horse trainers."
- "Resolved that the school is not the place in which to give agricultural education."

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STUDY 8

The Rural Church—Has it Found Itself?

The Task of the Country Church

"The community needs nothing so much as the church, to interpret life; to diffuse a common standard of morals; to plead for the common interest; to inculcate unselfishness, neighborliness, co-operation; to uphold ideals and to stand for the supremacy of the spirit. In the depleted town with scattered institutions and broken hopes, in the perplexity of changing times, in the perils of degeneracy, the church is the vital centre which is to be saved at any cost. In the readjustment of the times, the country church has suffered; but if in its sacrifice it has learned to serve the community; it lives and will live."—Dr. Anderson.

"To give vision to the common life, and to inspire men for service to common needs; these are the great uses of the church in the open country."—Dr. W. H. Wilson.

"With the Protestant churches, then, in rural communities we see a tendency toward division, intolerance, party schism and general decay."—James E. Boyle.

"The church must some day repent in sackcloth and ashes because of the way in which it has been willing to crucify community harmony on the cross of denominational glory."—Holt.

"The ideal solution of the country church problem is to have in each rural community one strong church, adequately supported, properly equipped, ministered to by an able man—a church which leads in community service. The path to the realization of such an ideal is rough and thorny. Church federation, however, promises large results in this direction and should be specially encouraged."—Butterfield.

"The determining principle in all this religious culture for the country community shall be its value for the marginal people of the country population. These marginal people are the children and youth in all the families; secondly, the landless people who are doing the work in the country; and thirdly, the people who are unable to own the tools by which they do this work. (One might add further the non-English speaking immigrant). If the plans for rural religious life appeal to these, engage their interest, and enlist them in community life and feeling, then you may be sure that everybody else will be likewise engaged. What is done for the people on the margin of the community is done for all, and the ministry to the weakest member means a service to the whole population."—Warren H. Wilson.

So important is the work of the country church that the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in the United States has organized a special department known as the Department of Church and Country Life.

IN WHICH PERIOD ARE WE?—The Secretary of this department, Warren H. Wilson, writes in "The Church of the Open Country"—"The decay of rural life in America is seen in four types; first, individualism; second, degenerate groups; third, speculation; and fourth, exploited lands. Each one of them arises not out of the church itself, but out of the social economy of the country. They are all results of courses which affect the farmer in the process of getting a living. Four periods of American country life are seen in these four kinds of decay; the

pioneer, or solitary farmer; the land-farmer, or household farmer; the exploiter or speculative farmer; and the husbandman, or organized farmer, who is fighting the present exploitation of the land. These four great American countrymen have followed one another across the stage of the open country. They have built their churches and their communities like unto themselves. The spirit of the future is one of organizing the farmers and federating the churches. These types of men and communities have been successive. They appear in the order named. They are cumulative, and the later communities contain all the earlier types. The troubles with the country church are those of transition from household farming to organized farming."

Dr. Wilson has given us his opinion of Canada. His prophecy of the lines of our future development is perhaps nearer realization than he dreamed:

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT—"Conditions in Canada are strikingly different from those in the United States. Among country churches the predominant type of church is that of the household farmer. Three reasons explain this. Much of the country has been settled later than parts of the United States on the same parallels of latitude; secondly, the Canadians are more tenacious and slower to change. The third reason is the settlement, in the Eastern provinces, of many Scotch people and kindred types, who, as will be shown elsewhere, have demonstrated their ability to resist the changes I am describing. All this is for the good of Canadian Christianity. The later and more deliberate settlement will make possible the assimilation of later experience and of a more Christian sociology. The general conservatism, if it be wise, can retain the best of the old, while making ready for the new. And the genius of certain national stocks will strengthen the national fibre against destructive change.

"It is therefore the general task of Canadian Christians, so far as they differ from their brethren in the States, to build the church upon the family group. For there will not be a long pioneer period in any part of Canada. The fine family life of those communities which have begun to disintegrate in the States will last for decades longer in many parts of Canada. It is to be hoped that, without impairment of this group-life in the churches, the new social order may be taught to the people. For the latter stages of country life will come. The destination of all American farming is in the direction of what I have called 'husbandry.' Conservation can only postpone it; and happy that conservation which sees in the mistakes of the more swiftly moving States the sign-posts of its own future course."

What is the work of the country minister and of the country church? For a little let us go back—then forward. Oliver Goldsmith in a well known passage has pictured for us the Village Parson:

"A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a year;
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change, his place.
Unpracticed he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
For other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise.
His house was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain."

"At church, with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorned the venerable place.
Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.
The service passed, around the pious man
With steady zeal, each honest rustic ran;
E'en children followed, with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown, to share the good man's smile.
His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distressed.
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven."

How different the ideals and work of a Canadian country minister! He remains but a few years in one place. His ambition is probably to pass from the country "circuit" to the town charge and thence to the city pulpit—and that as quickly as possible. Too often, as Butterfield says, "the rural parish is regarded either as a convenient laboratory for the clerical novice, or as an asylum for the decrepit or inefficient."

Then what is the work of the country minister? He preaches three times on Sunday—often the same sermon. If only twice he probably teaches a class in the Sunday school. During the week he may conduct a prayer meeting or possibly attend a young peoples' meeting. He visits in the homes of the people, and on occasion baptizes a child, performs a marriage ceremony or conducts a funeral. Outside of these regular duties he may carry on "special services," or assist in a local option campaign. If he does all this he is considered an all round minister—a preacher, a pastor and an organizer, and fitted to minister to a larger congregation.

Aye! that's the rub, his whole ideal is to minister to a congregation—not to lead the congregation in ministering to the community.

THE NEW MESSAGE—Let us accept the functions of a minister as being those of preacher, pastor and organizer. But in view of modern conditions and needs do we not need a new message, a new type of pastoral work and a new method of organization? I have been thinking particularly of the social message, but before passing to that may I quote a thought-provoking paragraph which I chanced upon in the Outlook of March, 1900:—

"The deplorable lack of rural morals lies just there; instead of living by principle, country people live by rule; there is nothing like ethical autonomy; the life fails to proceed from within outward. Legalism, in the form of a code of taboos, becomes not infrequently a most bewildering and inconsistent guide for conduct. Abstaining from bar-drinking, you may nevertheless drink hard cider; discriminating against smoking, you may plant your farm with tobacco for the market; disapproving of dancing, you may play kissing games. . . . Moreover, self-respect rests more upon the opinion of others than upon the opinion a man holds of himself. The great police force of the small town is the terror of 'bein' talked about.' And the significance of all this becomes apparent when the village young people enter upon life in the city. Watch the moral trend of the South End of Boston. There, the code of taboos becomes ineffectual because new conditions have arisen; the restraint of prying watchfulness is relaxed because the South End is not a community of neighbors; and a half-trained conscience too often gives way before wholly novel temptations."

Then as to the social message, read the following: "Present conditions in the rural churches are due to a number of causes; immigration has broken up racial integrity, many a community has half a dozen nationalities owning or renting farms none of whom has been in the melting pot long enough to get fused; the increasing social compactness of the city intensifies the feeling of separateness in the country. The proximity of growing villages has broken the links of rural unity such as neighborly exchange, services and opportunities for acquaintance at store and post office. The trolley has often disintegrated a community by taking away mutual dependence. The country lags behind the city in its thinking on social affairs. It is still individualistic. If a case of diphtheria breaks out on Smith's farm, folks think not of contagion of the community, but of aches and pains and distresses in the Smith household. The country church, very much like the city church, lags behind the procession in its thinking on social philosophy. Usually it has no message on social subjects. They are tabooed as unspiritual, too 'worldly,' while the emphasis on individual salvation fixes the eyes on a coming Paradise and blinds them to community conditions."—Henry F. Cope.

This doesn't mean that the ministers should give lectures on farming. As Holt says: "It is not a question of talking in terms of the barnyard so much as it is a question of talking in terms of Christian democracy."

THE NEW TYPE OF PASTOR—Wanted: A new type of church and new type of pastor. We have all been brought up to accept the teaching which divides the world into sacred and secular—sacred and secular days, places, ceremonies, etc. We must learn that there is no secular; all is sacred.

The minister's duty has been limited to so-called "sacred things." We are learning that it is a false dualism that separates the spiritual from "the material" or "the temporal." The spiritual is in the material and must transform that material into higher forms. The spiritual begins with "the temporal" and must reveal the eternal virtues which lie latent even in the things of time and sense. All that concerns the life and welfare of men, women and children should be of concern to the church.

For instance, in an address delivered before the Wisconsin Country Life Conference, Dr. Wilson said: "The first thing needed is a recognition that the welfare of the people is essential to the welfare of the church. . . . I therefore would place as the first factor in the community programme for the country church the promotion of better agriculture."

Prof. T. N. Carver seeks to show that the churches' very existence in the country is dependent upon the material welfare of its members. His line of argument may not make the strongest appeal, but it is worth consideration. "If the church will assume that the world is not going to perdition, that it is going to last for a long time, and that it will eventually be a Christian or a non-Christian world according as Christians or non-Christians prove themselves more fit to possess it, according as they are better farmers, better business men, better mechanics, better politicians—then the church will turn its attention more and more to the making of better and more progressive farmers, business men, mechanics and politicians."

"It may be laid down as a general law of rural economy that the productive land in any farming community will tend to pass more and more into the hands of those who can cultivate it most efficiently. . . . It means simply literally that the rural districts are never to become thoroughly Christianized until Christians become as a rule better farmers than non-Christians. If it should happen that Christians should become really better farmers than others, the land will pass more and more into the possession of Christians and this will become a Christian country, at least so far as the rural districts are concerned."

"Organized efforts in the churches for the study of parish economy, for gaining more and more scientific knowledge of agriculture, for the practical kind of Christian brotherhood which shows itself in the form of mutual helpfulness and co-operation, in the form of decreasing jealousy and suspicion, in the form of greater public spirit, greater alertness for opportunities for promoting the public good and building up the parish and the community, in helping young men and young women to get started in productive work and in home building, in helping the children to get the kind of training which will enable them to make a better living in the parish—efforts of this kind will eventually result in better support for the churches themselves, because the community will then be able to support the church more liberally, and, what is more important, it will then see that the church is worth supporting."

Here we have a broad social programme, almost startling in its "bigness" and very far removed from the recognized forms of church work.

NEW CHURCH MACHINERY AND A NEW IDEAL—Wanted: A new principle of organization. The old idea was to organize the church, the new ideal is to organize the community.

Much has been said as to the need of institutional churches. In some communities an institutional church may be needed, but the church's work is greater than that of building up an institution; it is to spiritualize existing institutions and to create those multiform institutions that will express the highest life of man. The true viewpoint is well put by Henry F. Cope:

"Why should not the ball ground be next the church? The problem of Sunday ball would then solve itself. The church has lost moral control on many things because she has heedlessly and often selfishly divorced herself from them."

"The most important relation of the rural church to community welfare will be an educational one. Our interest and activity in doing things must never be allowed to eclipse the greater duty of the church as an inspirational agency. . . . the direct service of a church in community welfare justifies itself only as an essential part of the educational programme of that church."

And again by Anderson: "The institutional expansion of the church is proper only when the social outfit is defective, then the church ought to fill the gaps. . . . The church is a social centre primarily and chiefly because it is the community organized for worship, the noblest of all social functions."

Or still again, another aspect is emphasized by Butterfield: "But if every country pastor cannot have a social service church, is it not possible that every country church should have a social service pastor? There are some things the church cannot do; there is nothing it may not through its pastor inspire. There are some uses to which the country church cannot be put; there are no uses to which the country pastor may not be put—as country pastors know by experience. The pastor ought to be an authority on social salvation as well as on personal salvation. He ought to be a guide, philosopher and friend in community affairs, as well as in personal affairs. Is he not indeed the logical candidate for general social leadership in the rural community? He is educated, he is trained to think, he is supposed to have a broad grasp of the meaning of affairs; he usually possesses many of the qualities of leadership. He is relatively a fixture. He is the only man in the community whose tastes are sociological and who is at the same time a paid man—all this aside from the question of the munificence of his stipend. Let us then have the social service pastor at all hazards, as the first term in the formula for solving the sociological problem of the country church."

DISCUSSION

"Resolved that students for the ministry should take a course in agriculture."

"Resolved that church union is essential to effectual community work in rural districts."

"Resolved that the church's job is to 'save souls,' not to provide football clubs or other community organizations."

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STUDY 9

The Socialization of Rural Communities

"A very strong self-reliant people neither easily learns to act in concert, nor easily brings itself to regard any middling good, any good short of the best, as an object ardently to be coveted and striven for. It keeps its eye on the grand prizes, and these are to be won only by distancing competitors, by getting before one's comrade, by succeeding all by one's self, and so long as a people works thus individually, it does not work democratically."—Matthew Arnold (*"Mixed Essays"*).

"He who is unable to live in society or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god; he is no part of the state."—Jowett, *"The Politics of Aristotle."*

"Among no class of people is individualism so rampant as among farmers. For more than a century the American farmer led the freest possible life. His independence was his glory. But when the day of co-operation dawned, he found himself out of tune with the movement, was disinclined to join the ranks of organized effort, and he prefers even yet his personal and local independence to the truer freedom which can be secured only through co-operative endeavor."—Kenyan L. Butterfield, in *Chautauquan*, Dec., 1902.

"The first and greatest essential to a better social life is a common interest, whatever that be makes little difference, which shall lead to co-operation of all in a true spirit of service for a better welfare. All rural social arrangements should cut across class lines and command the interest of the whole rural population."—Report of address of Prof. T. N. Carver, of Harvard, at Bangor Seminary.

Our field is so large and varied that it may conduce to clearness of thought if first of all we classify country communities. This may be done in various ways.

CLASSIFICATION—First, by location. The Maritime Provinces, Quebec, "The Old Ontario Strand," New Ontario, The Prairie Country, The Valleys of B.C. What variations! Then within each main group are a score of diverse districts. Each county has its own individuality, and should be studied separately. Generalization must be made with care and local action must be based upon local conditions.

Second, by Industries. Grain growing, fruit growing, stock raising, dairying, market gardening, mixed farming. These are some of the main industries and each has its specific problems. This classification can never be used by itself, but is always complicated by the classifications according to location. For instance, stock raising in Ontario is a vastly different thing from "ranching" in Alberta, or fruit growing in the Niagara district from fruit growing in the Okanagan Valley.

Third, by Social Grouping. The simplest and perhaps the most typical Canadian country community is that of the "open country," a succession of 100 acre or half-section farms. But this open country is dotted with country

villages varying in size and importance from "the corners" with its blacksmith shop and post office, to the busy little centre with its cheese factory, its group of churches and the consolidated school.

At greater intervals there are found country towns. Here we may seem to be passing out of the country proper. But these market towns with their local industries are intimately and inseparably connected with the open country. Their problems are those of the country rather than those of the city.

The case is different with suburban communities, which though perhaps located in the open country belong essentially to the city, they being directly dependent upon the city and their problems bound up with those of the city.

We have then, (a) the open country, (b) the country village, (c) the country town. To these should perhaps be added, (d) lumber, mining and construction camps. They stand rather in a class by themselves, but are often located in the country and sometimes complicate the problems of the normal rural community.

Fourth, by Nationality and Character of Inhabitants. There are progressive communities and backward communities. There are communities founded by pensioned English soldiers, by Highland Scotchmen, by famine-driven Irishmen, by United Empire Loyalists and by "Pennsylvania Dutch." In Quebec and Eastern Ontario, and districts in Nova Scotia, there are extensive French communities with very distinctive characteristics. Then in the West there is everything, French, German, Icelandic, Italian, Galician, Doukhobor, Persian, Japanese—the whole map of Europe and part of Asia. These various elements often compose "mixed communities" which in themselves form an exceedingly complicated problem. The "rural problem" is thus surely not so simple as some of us at first blush imagine. But there are some elements and tendencies, some dangers and some needs that are common to most if not to all these various classes of country communities.

In general, in these studies we have in view well settled, English speaking districts, the majority of the people engaged in general farming, the life largely self-contained except for common needs which are supplied by the neighboring village or through an occasional visit to "town."

THE [COMMUNITY] VIEWPOINT—In any community work the first thing is to gain the community viewpoint. Naturally the farmer thinks of his farm and sometimes of little more than his farm. The school teacher thinks of his school, and possibly fails to relate the school to the everyday life of the district. The minister thinks of his church and may entirely fail to perceive important factors that are at work for the community betterment. The true social worker, on the other hand; looks at the community as a whole and asks how the farm, the school, the church and other agencies may contribute to the common welfare.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY—In many communities a social survey has been found helpful. Experts are engaged to make a careful study of the entire situation—of the community resources and needs, and to suggest a comprehensive scheme for community welfare. The theory is that society is not in the soundest health and hence requires the services of a skilled social "doctor." The doctor, before he can intelligently prescribe the remedy or suggest a line of treatment, must make a careful diagnosis, which involves a detailed knowledge of all the facts in their relation to one another. The survey will include statistics as to population, agricultural conditions, inter-community relations, commercial agencies, municipal affairs, education, recreation, church life, etc. Several such rural surveys have already been made in Canada under the auspices of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

THE COMMUNITY SPIRIT—Even more essential than the community viewpoint is the community spirit. The Canadian farmer is by birth and by training an individualist. He comes of specially selected stock. His forefathers were men who dared to strike out a course for themselves, who ventured across the seas and blazed a path through the trackless forest. The pioneer farmer learned to live by his own unaided exertions. He was a jack-of-all-trades. Independence was his watchword. His advice to his son was "paddle your own canoe."

INDEPENDENCE A VICE—But times have changed. The farmer is now part of the great social organism. Independence has become impossible. No man nowadays can paddle his own canoe without risking his own life or that of others. Rather, we are all in the same boat; we must all sink or swim together. So the farmer must readjust himself to the new conditions, abandon the old watchwords and adopt a co-operative programme that will embrace all the activities of the community.

In confirmation of this view, let me quote a paragraph from Fiske:

"Every man for himself; look out for number one" is the natural philosophy of life under such conditions. Self-protection and aggrandizement, jealousy of personal rights, slowness to accept advice, proneness to law suits over property, thrifty frugality to a fault, indifference to public opinion, disregard even of the opinions of experts—all are very characteristic of people of such independence of life. They seldom yield to argument. They do not easily respond to leadership. They are likely to view strangers with suspicion. Self-reliance over-developed leads them to distrust any initiative but their own. Hence they do not readily work with other people. They refuse to recognize superiority in others of their own class. All of which results in a most serious social weakness; failure in co-operation, a fatal failure in any society. Positively, this explains the jealousies and feuds so common in rural neighborhoods. Negatively, it accounts for the lack of effective social organization."

Or further, as showing the necessity for the development of the social as distinguished from the individualistic viewpoint, let me quote from Wilson:

RELIGIOUS INCONSISTENCY—"A city parson found a boarding house in the country for a mother with a very sick child. The farmer when he saw the pitiful condition of the little baby promptly offered his sympathetic help to the mother in restoring it to health. Believing, as other farmers did, that the milk produced by cattle fed on green corn is bad for little children, he offered to set aside one cow from his herd and feed that cow on grass alone, because the herd at that time was feeding on green corn. The little child very promptly recovered abundant health. Yet all the time this farmer was sending his milk produced by the cows fed on green corn to the city for sale, while knowing that it would be used by children and believing that children so nourished would grow sick and die. The child seen impressed his mind, but the children unseen had no influence on his conduct. The need in this case is of cultivation in social standards."

We have already dealt with several outstanding community interests, viz., the economic situation, education and religion. Other important questions are those relating to public health, delinquency and recreation.

It is impossible to deal with these at length, but let me give a few quotations that suggest important topics for study.

PUBLIC HEALTH—"The city is not the only place confronted by the problems of water and food supplies, sewage and garbage disposal, living and working conditions, child labor and long hours, school hygiene and medical examination of scholars, play spaces and bathing facilities, commercialized amusements and recreations, the great white plague, the social evil and venereal diseases, typhoid fever and influenza, high infant mortality, house fly, malaria and the mosquito."—John Brown, M.D.

MEDICAL INSPECTION IN SCHOOLS—"There are numerous chronic ailments of childhood which absolutely prevent or militate against its receiving instruction. The more important of these are serious congenital mental defects and defects of the heart and organs of speech. There exists, also, many minor defects, eradicable, provided the parents are informed that such defects exist. The existence of these minor defects, such as squint, near-sightedness, adenoids, enlarged tonsils, bad teeth, nervous twitchings and so on are not often discovered by the parents, nor is their seriousness realized until the child has for some time been under the influence of school life."—Foght.

CRIME—"Degeneration manifests itself in the protean forms of suicide, insanity, crime and vice, which abound in the highest civilization where the

tension of life is extreme and in those places from which civilization has ebbed, and from which population has been drained, leaving a discouraged remnant to struggle against deteriorating conditions. . . . Crimes of all kinds are less frequent in prosperous agricultural communities and in thriving towns of moderate size where the relation of income to the standard of living is such that the life struggle is not severe."—Giddings.

MENTAL DEFECTIVES—Consanguineous marriages in hamlets—"One of the chief causes of the increase in feeble-mindedness, imbecility and neurotic instability is heredity, the unfit are breeding their kind and the number who are socially dependent is increasing with alarming rapidity. . . . Now, one of the causes of racial degeneracy is in-breeding. . . ."—Fiske.

"Weber finds that crime, insanity and divorce are more abundant in the city, that idiocy is more prevalent in the country, that marriage and fecundity depend upon ideals of life and social standards and are but slightly influenced by rural or urban conditions; that the country formerly had the advantage in health and length of life, but at present finds a strong competitor in the city favored by modern sanitation. . . . In general, inferior or worthless people in the country are descendants of or successors to worthless and inferior people of former times. . . . Faddists are more numerous in the social centres, queer characters in remote solitude."—Anderson.

RECREATION—"In the days before this age of machinery, farmers co-operated in the struggle to reduce the wilderness to subjection. The sickle, the scythe, the cradle and the flail were symbols of the daily hand-to-hand conflict with the soil. The fathers were confederated in this struggle. Their axe fell with musical rhythm and their rifles cracked in the forest to proclaim the brotherhood of the frontier. They swapped work and their social nature found outlet in wood choppings, husking-bees, log-rollings, spellings, singings and various neighborhood gatherings. These were features of the social life in the days of buckskin and homespun. They are now only romantic traditions. A healthy rural life today requires a modern substitute for these things which are embedded in the beautiful reminiscence of the past."—Ashenhurst.

"The church must provide directly or indirectly some modern equivalent for the huskings, apple bees, quiltings, and singing schools of the old days. In some way or other young men and young women must have opportunity for unconstrained intercourse, free from self consciousness and artificiality. This may take the form of clubs, parties, picnics, excursions, or what you please. One rule is absolute; the church must not attempt to take away the theatre, the dance, the card party, unless it give in its place, not merely a religious or intellectual substitute like a prayer meeting or a literary society, but a genuine social equivalent."—William DeWitt Hyde.

COMMUNITY CLUBS—How gain the community viewpoint and the community spirit? How provide for the community needs? It is evident that there must be some community organization and before that is possible a community "getting together."

The following letter was written from a little town in Wisconsin:

"I write to you because we need your help. We need it very much. This town will surely go down to oblivion unless we get together and boost and get to know and like each other better. We must make the people wake up to what they really need. Many, I will say all, think they are in need of nothing, which shows how little we realize our ignorance and lack of advancement.

We are composed of units, each one jealous of all the rest, and no one has any active interest in the town, but all are afraid of the others. We have no leadership and no spirit of progress whatever. We have saloons—and churches—all jealous of each other. This condition has obtained for years, but it is steadily getting worse, until now it is almost unbearable. The farmers about have no more interest in this town than if it were in another state. They lack, as we all do, the feeling of responsibility to our community.

Ignorance is the worst thing in the world, and we surely are ignorant. Gossip is the principal recreation. It is useless for me to try to do anything because

I live here, but if someone from outside would wake us up I think, that we are the same as people everywhere.

Have we any such communities in Canada? How can the needs be met?

The authority on this subject is Edward J. Ward, now advisor Bureau of Civic and Social Centre Development of the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Ward did some excellent work at Rochester in opening the schools to the public. Then the progressive University of Wisconsin asked him to join the group of men who are transforming education and building up a university that will minister not to one class, but to all the people.

WIDER USE OF SCHOOLS—Mr. Ward's idea is to make every school house in the state a centre for the social life of the community.

In Rochester he expressed his idea in some doggeral verses that contain an immense amount of good common sense:

"There are several parties here in our communittee,
Republican and Democrat and Socialist—that's three;
They never get together just because they disagree;
But there's a place where all of them can talk things over free.

Chorus:

It's-at-the-centre,
The social centre,
The place where everybody feels at home;
Forgets the eternal;
And gets fraternal,
There's something doing there, you'd better come.

There are many churches here in our communittee;
Some of them are better, and all of them are good.
But Catholic and Protestant and Jew are kept apart,
There's just one place where we all know that we are one at heart.

There are a lot of races here in our communittee;
English, French, Italian, Greek, Dane, Swede, Hindoo and Chineese.
And sometimes they forget that we are all one family;
But there's a place where this is just the fact that you will see.

Now there are some distinctions that are seen upon the street,
For some folks ride in auto cars and some ride on their feet,
And worry about the price of clothes comes in and spoils the fun,
But there's a place where hats are off and rich and poor are one.

There are little social circles here, each with its coterie;
Some in saloons, some pedro cliques, some soaking up pink tea,
But everyone is glad there is a place where each one gets
A chance to be acquainted with the folks in other sets."

Let me quote a few paragraphs from Mr. Ward:

"For generations the school houses have been monuments of neglected opportunities. The policy of closing them to the people outside of regular school hours has retarded the development of that higher type of citizenship which makes for better government. It matters not where it is located, whether in a congested city district or in a hamlet, or on a prairie among scattered farm houses, a public school building is a potential centre of civic activities, a potential neighborhood civic club house. If there should be realized anything like a fair measure of that which the thousands upon thousands of public school buildings of the nation offer in raising the plane of citizenship and in increasing the people's capacity for self-government, democracy would be vitilized to a degree that would make it militant and all conquering. It is no exaggeration to say that in making the school house the forum of the people lies the chief hope of perpetuating the republic and of perfecting its institutions.

The conception of the public school plant as the nucleus of the neighborhood social centre of course implies not only the beautifying, but the wider use for social and recreational purposes of the grounds about the school building.

The fullest and best use of recreational and social equipment can no more be made without expert direction, leadership and promotion than full and wise use of educational equipment can be made without a teaching force. The teacher of the socialized school should be a social worker.

What can be done in the school? Rather, what cannot be done? The teacher and the parents can get together. The farmers can meet to discuss agricultural matters; their wives to discuss home economics. Men and women alike to discuss politics or at least matters of public concern that should be the very life of politics. Young people can meet for a social time. The long winter evenings can be utilized to splendid advantage by providing night classes or lectures on literary or scientific or social topics. Some schools could even be used for games or quiet athletics. Why not? The building belongs to the community and should be used for anything that will elevate the life of the community. Further, as noticed in the verses quoted above, in the school all meet on a common platform; divisions of race or religion or class are forgotten. Here all meet as neighbors and friends. The teacher, needless to say, should do more than teach the children: the three R's from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. He should lead in the broader educational life of the district.

Further, among the ministers of any given district there are often several university graduates. Here is a whole college staff. Why not make each little school a sort of people's university?

STRANGERS WITHIN OUR GATES—In many districts in the West there are at least a few families of non-English speaking immigrants. The great immigration problem can be solved only as each community cares for the "foreigners" within its own borders. These strangers need a knowledge of the English language and instruction in civics and in Canadian ideals and modes of life. But more than this, they need respect, protection from exploitation, sympathetic appreciation and disinterested friendship.

RURAL LEADERSHIP—Above all we need rural leadership. Again and again some of the best blood of the country has been drained off to re-invigorate the life of the city. It has often been remarked that the leaders in the city are country bred boys and girls. It is sometimes forgotten that the country is poorer for the leadership which they might have supplied.

Again the successful farmer often moves to the city. On this point Rev. Arthur E. Holt remarks:

"The rural community has just as good a right to develop a business class as has a city community. The point of the retired farmer discussion is that the farmer needs a more decent place than the city to which to retire. It is a question as to whether when he attains economic independence he is to pass into a state of arrested development in some city where he does not count, or whether he is to be able to turn his accumulated power to some fine community task in the interest of the community in which he has made his money."—Rev. Arthur E. Holt, in the American Missionary.

What of the official leaders in religious and educational affairs? At present they are largely trained in the city—have city ideals and look to the city for a life career. The school or the country charge is little more than a training ground for apprentices. Why should not men graduate from the principalship of a city school or the pastorate of a city church to the more difficult position of rural school teacher or minister? You smile at the thought! That shows how far we are from recognizing the importance of the country. "Any old thing will do for the country" must be replaced by "nothing is too good for the country" and "we will have nothing but the best."

This study fairly bristles with subjects for discussion. We append a list of topics on one particular subject—recreation. This formed part of the programme of the Recreation Congress, Cleveland, 1912.

RURAL RECREATION SESSIONS

Programme

The need of rural recreation.
Why boys leave the country.
The country boy—does he have sufficient play time?
The girl of eighteen in the country.
Rural recreation through the church.
Rural recreation through the country school house.
The opportunity of the village high school.
Rural recreation through the Grange.
The Women's Club; recreation of the farmer's wife.
The rural travelling library.
Contests in gardening.
Corn clubs.
Athletics in the country.
Summer baseball.
Boy scout activities for country boys.
Music as a form of play in rural districts.
Dramatic play in rural districts.
Story telling in the rural districts of Ireland.
Country parks.
The rural play festival.
At the country fair.
Rural pageants.
The lessening of sickness in rural districts through more adequate provision for recreation.
Ways in which recreation may increase economic efficiency in rural districts.
Higher standards of citizenship made possible by rural recreation centres.
Should provision for rural recreation be made through public taxation?
A proposed recreation bill for rural districts.
The task of a rural recreation secretary.

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The Survey, the Social Worker's Magazine (Weekly), 105 East 22nd St., New York.
Social and Civic Centres—E. J. Ward.
Pamphlets (Free)—American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston.
A Social Survey for Rural Communities—G. F. Wells, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Rural Surveys—Presbyterian or Methodist Departments of Social Service.
Publications of Department of Surveys and Exhibits—Russell Sage Foundation, 128 East 22nd St., New York.
Strangers Within our Gates—J. S. Woodsworth (Methodist Mission Rooms, Toronto).
For information apply to Community Work Department, Canadian Welfare League, Room 10 Industrial Bureau, Winnipeg, Canada.

STUDY 10

Land Tenure—Taxation

Several years ago in New York a thoughtful social worker called the writer's attention to the importance of keeping the land for the people. "Your charities are all very well, but look to your land tenure!" The warning came as a surprise. Surely our homesteads are open to all. And yet, even within the past two or three years certain tendencies are observable that are significant of danger ahead.

LESSONS FROM GREAT BRITAIN—In an address given before the Canadian Club at Fort William, Dr. J. A. Macdonald spoke of lessons from Great Britain for Life in Canada. "His first is the lesson of the land. The land is the basis of the people's prosperity. The land is the prime source of the people's wealth. He reminds us again how it was that the land of England and Scotland became the property of a few men. Today eighty per cent. of all the land of Britain is owned by three per cent. of the people. Twelve persons own one-quarter of the land in Scotland. And today large areas of Britain are without human habitation, given over to grouse and rabbit and sport of that sort. From 1900—within five years there were reclaimed in Germany for agriculture 700,000 acres of moor and bog. During the same time in Britain, over 2,000,000 acres were withdrawn from agriculture and given over to grouse and deer. This reminds us that it was owing to such blind blundering and criminal selfishness that the New World received some of the best early blood. That the degenerate lord might boast his big and little game, the men and women and children were swept off their native soil. I was assured the other evening by two political economists that all this talk concerning the ownership of land by a few of the people was pure moonshine. That was not the term, but it includes the condemnation. To me it seems the searching sunlight, but I cannot argue."

Millions of English and French and Belgian capital is at present flowing into Canada. Hundreds of millions will flow back in a continuous golden stream for generations to come. With Canada's natural resources owned by British and European capitalists, will Canadians be much better than perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water?

The Voice recently published the following two items in juxtaposition. There is something here worth thinking about.

ANOTHER BIG SCHEME

Excerpt from Marx's Capital

"As an example of the methods obtaining in the 19th century, the clearing made by the Duchess of Sutherland will suffice here. This person, well instructed in economy, resolved on entering upon her government to effect a radical cure and to turn the whole country whose population had already been, by earlier processes of the like kind, reduced to 15,000, into a sheep walk. All their villages were destroyed and burnt; all their fields turned into pasturage. British soldiers enforced this eviction, and came to blows with the inhabitants. One old woman was burnt to death in the flames of the hut, which she refused to leave. Thus this fine lady appropriated 794,000 acres of land that had from time immemorial belonged to the clan. She assigned to the expelled inhabitants about 6,000 acres on the sea shore—2 acres per family.

"The 6,000 acres had until this time lain waste, and brought in no income to their owners. The Duchess, in the nobility of her heart, actually went so far as to let these at an average rent of 2s 6d. per acre to the clansmen, who for centuries

had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the stolen clan-land she divided into 29 great sheep farms, each inhabited by a single family, for the most part imported English farm servants. In the year 1835 the 15,000 Gaels were already replaced by 131,000 sheep. The remnant of the aborigines flung on the sea shore tried to live by catching fish. They became amphibious and lived, as an English author says, half on land and half on water, and withal only half on both."

ANOTHER SCHEME BY THE SAME FAMILY

Excerpt from the Winnipeg Free Press

"A scheme that is at the same time novel and far-reaching was this morning launched in the Royal Alexandra, when a number of the foremost capitalists of Western Canada met with His Grace the Duke of Sutherland to talk over the scheme for the settling of tenant farmers on a large scale all over the Dominion. The meeting lasted from early in the morning till well after noon, and at the close no statement was issued for the public, his grace being responsible for the announcement that the business talked over was simply of a private nature. It is understood, however, that the scheme will be further talked over on the return of the Duke from the West towards the close of September, when it is expected that a number of British capitalists will take their places on the board of directors. His grace goes West tonight on his private car to Brooks, where he will spend some weeks and entertain the Duke and Duchess of Connaught during their Western tour. A charter has already been secured from the Dominion government for the scheme, and it is understood that it will not be of any local nature, but will cover every province and every district of the Dominion. It will be quite separate from the scheme which the Duke has already undertaken in Southern Alberta, and which is already progressing rapidly according to the latest reports. It will, however, follow much along the same lines and these will be the bringing of desirable farmers and tenants from the Old Country out to Canada, where they will rent farms on the same principle as in the old land and work them to their own advantage. Whether any system of payments for purchase is to be part of the scheme is not yet divulged. It is expected that if the scheme goes into being and is supported by Old Country financiers as it is by those here, its holdings will be very large indeed, though so far there has been no announcement as to the capitalization of the company."

ABSENTEE LANDLORDS—Are Canadian farmers to remain a free people, or are Canadian farms to become the property of absentee landlords and the farmers to become mere tenants? Let us give another word of warning.

Thomas Nixon Carver writes: "Next to war, pestilence and famine, the worst thing that can happen to a rural community is absentee landlordism. In the first place, the rent is all collected and sent out of the neighborhood to be spent somewhere else; but that is the least of the evils. In the second place, there is no one in the neighborhood who has any permanent interest in it except as a source of income. The tenants do not feel like spending any time or money in beautification or in improving the moral or social surroundings. Their one interest is to get as large an income from the land as they can in the immediate present. Because they do not live there, the landlords care nothing for the community, except as a source of rent, and they will not spend anything in local improvements unless they see that it will increase rent. Therefore, such a community looks bad, and possesses the legal minimum in the way of schools, churches and other agencies for social improvement. In the third place, and worst of all, the landlords and tenants live so far apart and see one another so infrequently as to furnish very little opportunity for mutual acquaintance and understanding. Therefore class antagonism arises, and bitterness of feeling shows itself in a variety of ways. Where the whole neighborhood is made up of a tenant class, which feels hostile toward the absent landlord class, evasions of all kinds are resorted to in order to beat the hated landlords. On the other hand, the landlords are goaded to retaliation and rack-rent system prevails. Sometimes the community feeling among tenants becomes so strong as to develop a kind of artificial 'tenant right,' which is in opposition to the laws of the land, and the laws of the land are then made more severe in order to control the 'tenant right.'"

Mr. F. J. Dixon, M.P.P., Winnipeg, has contributed the following outline for study and discussion:

"LAND TENURE"

Land tenure or the manner of holding land, has varied greatly in different countries and at different times. Theoretically there is no such thing as private property in land, e.g., our Canadian title deeds read "John Doe is seized of an estate under the Crown." All land owners are tenants of the Crown which, under constitutional government is equivalent to the nation. So we are all tenants of the nation, subject to certain taxes, leases, royalties, dues or duties. These vary greatly even within the borders of Canada. This subject is very interesting from the historic view point.

Its economic aspect, however, is the most important.

The world's greatest thinkers, from Moses to Charles Russell Wallace, have all recognized that land is fundamentally different from other forms of property. It is the source of all wealth and any abuse in its administration brings disastrous results to the community.

Man is a land animal and the question of land tenure has always been one of prime importance. Land should be in the hands of those who will put it to its best use. There are differences of opinion as to how this can be accomplished. Some defend our present system, others advocate land nationalization, and others again the Single Tax.

This subject has many phases and is worthy of deep study and much discussion.

LINES OF STUDY

- 1—What is land, economically speaking?
- 2—What is wealth, economically speaking?
- 3—How is wealth produced?
- 4—How is wealth distributed?
- 5—What were the land-laws of Moses?
- 6—What are the land-laws of Canada?

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE

- 1—"Resolved that land monopoly is the chief cause of poverty."
- 2—"Resolved that land values are created by the community and should be taxed into the public treasury."
- 3—"Resolved that the introduction of machinery has benefitted land owners more than wage-earners."

LITERATURE

Progress and Poverty—Henry George.....	30 cents
My Neighbor's Landmark—Verinder.....	50 cents
Taxation of Land Values—Post.....	30 cents
The Great Iniquity—Tolstoy.....	10 cents
Story of My Dictatorship—Berens.....	5 cents
Progress of Land Value Taxation in Canada—Dixon.....	5 cents

These books can be secured at the above prices, postpaid from the Land Values Taxation League, 253 Chambers of Commerce, Winnipeg. Also other information upon this subject.

STUDY 11

THE TARIFF

By R. McKenzie

"There is to my mind but one explanation for rural conditions as they are, and that is lack of comparative prosperity among the farmers as compared with other classes in the community. We say the young people leave the farm because of a lack of conveniences and comforts in the farm homes, because these homes are not attractive, or because there is little leisure for pleasure in country life. This may be true, but these things are not impossible in the country, and the farmer is not constitutionally averse to them. He does not have them simply because he cannot afford them. We say that the farmer must employ his hired help the year round if he is to keep a sufficient supply. Most farmers would like to, but it is necessary to economize. We say the farmer should farm more intensively, and so increase the output of his soil. But it requires a good deal of extra capital and labor to do this, and these are not at his disposal. But the farmers of Canada, farming under the best of conditions as regards soil, climate, cheap land and comparatively easy access to the world markets, should, we would naturally expect, be prosperous enough to enjoy every convenience and comfort in their surroundings, and to solve the problems of farm labor supply and the improvement of their methods of farming. That they are not, and from no lack of intelligence and industry on their own part, indicates the working of some cause external to the farm itself. One of these causes, and to my mind the most powerful, is found in the protective tariff.

"Thus the farmers of Canada are placed in the disadvantageous position of having to sell their goods at prices set in a distant market, in competition with the cheapest production in the world, and of having to produce these things in a country where they must pay more than the world's prices for labor of all kinds, for machinery and for all the manufactured goods they use, on account of a highly protective tariff. Under these circumstances, is it any wonder that the farmers of this country are not prospering as they should or that rural population is decreasing. The tariff stands convicted of the greatest injury that can be dealt to our national life, the depletion of our rural population."—E. C. Drury, The Farmers' Magazine.

Tariff is a table or list of articles on which import or export duties are levied, with the amount of the duties specified. The word is also used quite widely of any schedule of prices or charges of freight or other charges by railway and steamship companies.

Tariffs or duties on imports are resorted to for two purposes—to secure revenue for purposes of government and to encourage and protect industries within the country. Strictly speaking, these two objects are inconsistent with each other, since a customs duty, in so far as it causes the domestic industry to supply the market rather than the foreign, ceases to be a source of revenue. In a great number of cases the imposition of customs duties cause only a partial displacement of foreign goods and hence bring some revenue from that which remains. This circumstance strengthens the hold of the protective system, especially in countries where custom duties are an important revenue; the combination of fiscal convenience and of protection to home industries being highly attractive.

TARIFF FOR REVENUE—Canada, the United States and Germany are outstanding illustrations of customs duties being levied for purposes of revenue and protection jointly, the highest tax for revenue from that source being imposed upon goods manufactured in the country, while raw material and partially manufactured goods are admitted free, or under a low tariff when imported for use in manufacturing. Great Britain, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of custom duties being imposed strictly for revenue purposes, only a limited number of articles being subject to custom duties, and in most cases, goods that are not produced or manufactured within Britain itself.

Where tariff duties are imposed solely for revenue, an equivalent excise tax is usually imposed within the country, so as to put the domestic producer precisely on the footing of his foreign competitor, and tariffs so maintained are in complete conformity with the principles of free trade. In Great Britain a very few articles (spirits, beer, wine, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa) yield practically all of the custom revenues, and in so far as these articles are produced within the country, they are subject to an excise duty, an internal tax exactly equal to the import duty.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF—Where customs duties are imposed for the purpose of protection, that is, with the idea of encouraging the establishment of home industries, the higher tax is imposed on imports. Advocates of protection justify the encouraging of manufacturing industries within the country by customs duties on the ground that they employ labor, supply a home market for farm produce, and that competition between themselves will prevent manufacturing from taking advantage of the protection given them against foreign competitors to increase the cost of their products to consumers.

In the early stage of the establishment of manufacturing industries in Canada and the United States this theory may have obtained. For a time manufacturers competed with one another and so long as that competition existed the burden of the tariff was not severely felt.

In recent years, however, a new situation has come into existence in Canada, one that has to be reckoned with in any proposal that has to do with improving conditions for the development of our natural resources, and increasing the output of our farms, mines, forests and fisheries.

PROTECTION THE MOTHER OF TRUSTS—Being protected from outside competition by customs duties, the manufacturers have seen a gain to themselves in a combination of interests and the outstanding economic fact in the last few years in our country is the consummation of a large number of industrial amalgamations. The Monetary Times Annual Review, 1912, states: "In four years previous to January, 1913, 56 industrial mergers were negotiated, with an aggregate authorized capitalization, including bonds of \$456,938,266. The 56 amalgamations absorbed 248 individual companies. The aggregate capitalization of 206 of these individual companies was approximately \$167,289,182, indicating that whereas the people of Canada had previously to provide dividends on \$167,000,000, they have now to provide dividends on three times that amount. This enormous increase in capitalization is almost wholly made up of common stock which admittedly represents very little real investment, being simply protection capitalized. A few outstanding illustrations are: The Canada Cement Co., Montreal, capitalized at \$36,000,000, absorbed 11 companies with a total capital of \$17,750,000; Ames Holden & McCreedy, boots and shoes, capitalized at \$11,500,000, absorbed 2 companies, capital \$3,500,000; Canada Cereal & Malting Company, capitalized at \$5,000,000, absorbed 8 companies with \$809,000 capital; Dominion Cannery, Hamilton, capitalized at \$12,500,000, absorbed 42 individual companies, whose capital was given as \$1,324,000. All the other mergers are similarly inflated.

Operations have not been confined to one, or a few classes of commodities. Companies handling soap, cereals, asbestos, bread, flour, milk, cars, leather, lumber, cement, dried fish, carriages, bolts, nuts, steel, coal, ice, felts, shoes, furs, crockery, paints and jewelry have all seen apparent or real gain in the combination of interests. Arrangements have also been made between navigation, light and power, brewery, canning, retail box trade, and other companies.

These instances are sufficient to exemplify the wide spread nature of the new feature in our commercial and financial progress, which is slowly painting a new economic map of the Dominion.

This consolidation of individual companies into combines, and combines into trusts, has the further effect of centralizing capital and power in the hands of a few individuals. By an interlocking of directors the same men control our banking institutions, our loan companies, our insurance companies, our transportation companies, and our industrial institutions. It is stated on good authority that Canada's economic structure is in control of about 23 capital directors, who are members of 90 of the 121 corporations of Canada having a capitalization of \$500,000 or over."—The Monetary Times.

CLASS LEGISLATION—The method that has hitherto been pursued in Canada of collecting revenue through customs duties enables one group of individuals to levy toll upon their neighbors and is inherently unsound. It is because it destroys the balance of equity in taxation. When customs duties are levied not for revenue purposes, but for the protection of a certain class in the community, the practice becomes vicious as it enables that class to levy a tribute on the rest of the people.

Wherein should we tax the money invested in agriculture for the benefit of capital invested in manufacturing? On what principle of justice can a government give a man who invests \$100,000 in a manufacturing industry the privilege of levying a tax on ten men who invest \$10,000 in land to develop the natural wealth of the country? By virtue of what principle will you tax the farmer in order to give work to the working man? On what principle will you tax the working man to give better prices to the farmer?

The essence of a protective tariff is the power it gives to the manufacturer of a community to levy a tribute on the users of that commodity. This privilege granted by statute to manufacturers is directly responsible for results in Canada that are deplored by thinking men. A few men become millionaires, while the masses become poorer; a few live in mansions, while many are forced into slums. Manufacturing is unduly expanding, while the farming industry languishes because of being drained of its life blood.

It is generally conceded that now there is practically no competition between domestic manufacturers operating on the same line of industry. Competition is practically wiped out through combines, mergers, and understandings, so that it may be conceded that our manufacturers add the full extent of their protection to the selling price of their commodity, which averages 27 of all dutiable goods. Not only that, but this added cost enhances the cost of distributing. The importer imports goods in bulk, distributes them to the jobber in packages, and he in turn sells to the retailer in broken lots. The importer who pays \$100.00 duty on a bill of imported goods adds that to the cost of his goods, charges his profits on the total cost and charges whatever profit he makes—say 15%—on that \$100.00 makes it \$115.00 to the jobber. He in turn adds, say a profit of 20% which will be \$23.00 and then hands the goods over to the retailer, and he adds a possible 25%, so that the \$100.00 paid in duty by the importer is increased to \$172.50 before it reaches the consumer.

It will be noted in this connection that no one who had the handling of those goods received any advantage from protection, the only party profiting being the domestic manufacturer, who could add that additional cost to the selling price of his product. You can readily see how this takes out of the man who commences farming in Western Canada, and who relies largely on the return of his labor to enable him to improve his farm and make a home for himself, his only working capital.

Goods that he could buy for \$100.00 cost him nearly \$200.00 because of protection.

THE TARIFF AND THE FARMER—Customs duties interfere with agricultural development; and the improvement of rural homes, by decreasing the purchasing power of the proceeds of the farmer's labor. A farmer grows crops

to exchange for commodities with which to improve his farm and provide home comforts for himself and family, which are produced by those engaged in other industries.

Customs duties affect him in two ways, first, through restrictions of trade he cannot get the full price of his product, and through the operation of customs duties the commodities he has to purchase cost him more. It is immaterial whether he receives foreign goods or the product of domestic manufacture, as protection enables the home manufacturer to charge the full price of his foreign competitor, plus the protection given him.

The following letter, which appeared in the press in December, 1912, will illustrate this proposition:

THE PURCHASING POWER OF BARLEY—"While in St. Johns, a small town in Dakota, three or four miles from the Canadian border, enquiring into the prices paid for grain, I saw a farmer being paid 92 cents per bushel for barley in the grain elevator there. If that barley was brought to a grain elevator in Brandon, Man., it would realize 40 cents per bushel. An eight foot McCormick binder sells at St. Johns for \$150.00. In Brandon the same machine costs \$175.00. A little figuring will show that in St. Johns 163 bushels of barley will pay for an eight foot McCormick binder, while in Brandon 437 bushels of the same class of barley would be required. Eighty-one bushels of barley will buy a farmer's wagon in Dakota. It takes 212 bushels of barley to buy the same kind of a wagon in Brandon. The Dakota farmer gets eight gallons of coal oil in exchange for one bushel of barley, while a Manitoban must be satisfied with slightly over one for the same quantity. Had reciprocity carried the price of barley would be the same in Brandon and St. Johns, freight rates to the terminals being the same in both places.

It is said that the Cockshutt Plow Company of Brantford, Ontario, sell their eight bottom power gang plows in Minneapolis around \$500.00 when barley sells from \$1.00 to \$1.15, while in Manitoba they charge \$680.00. In other words, the Minnesota farmer can draw 500 bushels of barley to an elevator and bring home a Cockshutt plow fully paid for, while the Manitoba farmer would have to haul 1,700 bushels to an elevator in this province to get the same plow. The Minnesota farmer can get the Cockshutt two-furrow plow for 81 bushels of barley, while the Manitoba farmer exchanges 212 bushels for the same article. Truly the Manitoba farmer pays dearly for that brand of loyalty and patriotism which is represented by the Canadian manufacturer.

I finished loading a car of barley on the Great Northern at Brandon on November 13th, 1912, and sold it on sample in Minneapolis for \$1.04 a bushel, no commission. The inspector in Winnipeg inspected a sample of this car as No. 3 barley, and the price in store at Fort William was 65 cents that day, less freight and commission. A neighbor of mine and myself loaded another car of feed barley a few days later and had an offer of 97 cents, no commission, in Minneapolis. The freight rate from Brandon to Minneapolis on the Great Northern is 13 cents per hundred pounds, the same as on the C.N.R. and C.P.R. to Fort William. After paying \$764.00 duty on those two cars they netted \$614.60 more than we could sell at to the elevators in Brandon, and \$355.20 more than we could realize by shipping them to Fort William. Any farmer, or group of farmers, who can load barley on the Great Northern tracks in Manitoba, which is in good condition and free from frosted grain, can do the same thing."

INTERPROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE—The following extract taken from the memorandum on the effect of tariff presented to the government by the Interprovincial Council of Agriculture will illustrate how customs duties interfere with business, making business more expensive and through the decreasing of the purchasing power of a day's work or a bushel of wheat, reduce the volume of business transacted by business men.

"As a further illustration of how protection reduces the purchasing power of farm produce, take the following:

A farmer importing a suit of clothes invoiced to him at \$10.00 would have to give in exchange 13 1-3 bushels of wheat at 75 cents per bushel. But the customs

officer interferes and says, 'you will have to pay \$3.00 duty on that suit of clothes,' thus compelling the farmer to contribute four bushels more before he can get the suit. That is to say, the purchasing power of his wheat in this case is reduced one-third. But the farmers do not import their goods direct, they get them in the ordinary course of business, and by the time the goods pass through the hands of the wholesaler, the jobber and the retailer, the burden of protection is very much increased. Importers and merchants add a percentage for profit to the cost of their goods delivered in their warehouse.

Suppose a farmer sells a carload of wheat containing 1,000 bushels at 75 cents a bushel, getting \$750.00 for it. At the present cost of transportation he had to give \$250.00 for transporting that car of wheat to Liverpool, to say nothing of cost of insurance, storage, interest and dealer's profit. The importer imports goods in quantities and hands them over to the jobber in broken lots, and the jobber to the retailer in still smaller quantities. Wheat exported is not paid for in cash by the importing countries; goods are given in exchange. The Canadian importer of manufactured goods gets a bill of exchange for this carload of wheat, which in Britain is worth \$1,000, and buys with it an assortment of goods—clothing, woolens, cutlery, hardware, graniware, crockery and the thousand other things that a farmer needs on his farm. At the port of landing he is met by a customs officer, who compels him to pay 25% of the value of the goods, or \$250.00, before he gets possession of them. Of course, the importer adds this to the cost of his goods and passes it on. Say he sells his goods to the jobber at 10% profit; he adds 10% to the \$250.00 duty and passes it on to the jobber at \$275.00. The jobber adds his 15% profit, or \$41.25, and passes it on to the retailer. The retailer, in his turn, adds 25% profit, which is \$79.06, and passes it on to the consumer at \$395.31. That is, the \$250.00 duty that the importer paid amounts to \$395.31 before it reaches the consumer.

The farmer has to dispose of an additional 527 bushels of wheat before he can buy the goods exchanged for his car of wheat in England. That is the price he pays for protection.

The removal of the customs duty would leave the farmer that 527 bushels to exchange for other commodities for his home or to improve his farm so as to add to his production. There lies the secret of increasing the production of farm produce. Nine out of ten of our farmers do not farm as well as they know how, and the reason eight times out of ten is the want of sufficient capital, the earnings that should go to increase their capital from year to year being filched from them by the tariff. Moreover, the excessive cost of distribution is largely due to restriction in trade incidental to protection."

IT IS WORTHY OF NOTICE—In the above illustration, as noted in another connection, no one profits by the excessive cost of the goods but the domestic manufacturer. The wholesaler, jobber and retailer have the same rate of profit in handling goods under free trade as under protection, but the volume of his trade may be and undoubtedly is curtailed by the enhanced cost of goods.

AN UNDERLYING CAUSE OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING—Protection is intended to increase the cost of goods in the interest of the home manufacturer. It may be safely assumed that he will add the full amount of his protection to the selling price of his goods. The census and trade returns show in 1911 that for every dollar's worth of dutiable goods imported we manufactured four dollars' worth, consequently for every dollar we paid the government for revenue, we paid four to the manufacturer. There lies the root of our trouble; there lies one great cause of the high cost of living.

To that basic wrong can be attributed many of the economic ills and social injustices from which the people of Canada are suffering at the present time.

The Breeders' Gazette of October 30th, 1912, has this to say: "George Lane, of Alberta, is still running trainloads of Canadian steers across the line to Chicago, and the stock is getting a warm reception. Several trains have yet to materialize, and the consignments will probably be topped off and strung out to realize maximum results. The tops of the train that arrived Monday sold at \$10.00, forty head averaging 1,467 pounds; other cuts making \$9.25 and \$9.65."

Prices are evidently stimulating gathering and furnishing killers with a lot of beef that would not have been accessible otherwise. The run is expected to last another three weeks, and several trains of Alberta cattle are in reserve. The Canadian delegation sold at \$9.25 and \$9.65 and \$10.00 on Monday, forty head at the latter price averaging 1,467 pounds.

Had Mr. Lane taken his cattle to Winnipeg, as all the Manitoba farmers have to do, he would have realized \$5.00 to \$6.00."

Note—The United States Government has removed the duty on cattle going into the States since the above was written. The difference in price is now very much less.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

Resolved that protection is justified on national grounds.

Resolved that there should be free trade between Canada and the United States.

REFERENCES

Sixty Years of Protection in Canada..... Edward Porritt
House of Commons Debates (e.g. Vol. XLVI. No. 98)
Protection and Free Trade..... Henry George

When wilt Thou save the people?

O God of mercy, when?

Not kings and lords, but nations!

Not thrones and crowns, but men!

Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they;

Let them not pass like weeds away—

Their heritage a sunless day,

God save the people!

Shall crime bring crime for ever,

Strength aiding still the strong?

Is it Thy will, O Father,

That men shall toil for wrong?

No! say Thy mountains: No! Thy skies;

Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,

And songs ascend instead of sighs.

God save the people!

When wilt Thou save the people?

O God of mercy, when?

The people, Lord, the people!

Not thrones and crowns, but men!

God save the people; Thine they are,

Thy children, as Thine angels fair;

From vice, oppression and despair,

God save the people.

—Ebenezer Elliott.

STUDY 12

Public Ownership and Control

Railways, Markets, Banking, Etc.

By R. McKenzie

The demand for government ownership and operation of public utilities in Canada is stimulated by the extent to which the public domains are passing into the hands of private ownership. Public lands, water powers, mines, timber are rapidly being alienated from the crown and passing into the hands of private individuals, groups of capitalists and corporations. These in turn form into combines and trusts, so that citizens who desire to use those natural resources must pay enormous tribute for that use to private ownership.

Not only is the ownership of our natural resources becoming the subject of monopolies and trusts, but our transportation systems, whether electric power, steam, rail or lake, are rapidly coming under the control of the same baneful influences. Nature has done much for Canada by way of water power, intended to be utilized for the purpose of producing electricity for purposes of power, heat and light. These also are largely used now for the private gain of a few privileged individuals, so our wonderful system of inland lakes and rivers, which nature designed for the commerce of British America and for carrying food stuffs grown on our illimitable prairies to supply the world's needs. The immense amount of money spent by successive governments for improving these with the end in view of providing cheap transportation has become the subject of combines and trusts, so that instead of the cost of transportation being decreased, it costs more now, as a matter of fact, to take the products of the prairie provinces to seaboard than it did a decade ago.

Recent developments in combines of capital place our whole system of commerce under the control of a few individuals. Transportation companies, both lake and rail, financial and industrial institutions, etc., are so united by the interlocking of directors that comparatively few men have the control of the capital and operation of our railways, steamship lines, banking institutions, industrial interests and commerce. The result is that a few individuals practically control the destinies of Canada. The following statement which appeared in financial papers a few years ago will illustrate this:

MONEY KINGS—Canada's economic structure is in control of 23 capital directors who are members of 90 of the 121 corporations in Canada having a capitalization of \$500,000 or over.

Name	No. of Companies	Capitalization
W. D. Matthews, director of	17	\$410,000,000
F. Nichols	14	237,000,000
Senator R. McKay	14	468,000,000
Sir H. M. Pellatt	13	101,000,000
Sir William McKenzie	10	210,000,000
Sir William Van Horn	12	481,000,000
Sir E. B. Osler	11	358,000,000
Z. A. Lash	11	183,000,000
R. N. Angus	10	419,000,000
C. H. Hosmer	10	397,000,000
Senator L. J. Forget	9	431,000,000
Lord Strathcona	9	410,000,000

Name	No. of Companies	Capitalization
Senator Drummond	9	400,000,000
H. M. Molson	7	15,000,000
Sir Rudolph Forget	7	56,000,000
D. B. Hanna	7	99,000,000
E. B. Greenshields	6	105,000,000
Sir Donald Mann	6	99,000,000
Sir Thomas Shaughnessy	6	357,000,000
R. Meighen	5	359,000,000
W. Wainwright	5	430,000,000
R. A. Allen	4	88,000,000
Senator Cox	19	194,000,000

Twenty-three men direct 90 out of 121 corporations with a capitalization of \$1,500,000,000 and assets to the amount of \$2,250,000,000 equal to 90% of the total capitalization and assets of the 121 corporations examined. (Some of these men have since passed to the Great Beyond, where trusts and combination of capital do not prevail).

WHO OWNS THE GOVERNMENT?—This combination of capital and power, comprising 90% of the capitalization used for the transaction of business in Canada becomes a menace to the future of Canada. Not only the whole field of commerce and the manufacturing industry, but also the business of lending money and our transportation facilities are under the control of these few men, linked together by the strongest tie in the business world—selfish interest. Such a powerful combination of capital and power can make or break governments that would dare refuse to meet their demands or attempt legislation intended to curb their greed and selfish desire, by way of removing restriction from trade and opening our markets to the competition of the world in the interests of the people.

The situation thus created is beginning to cause great unrest, making the popular demand for government control and operation of public utilities more insistent, and developing the popular view of the need of establishing some system of lending money to producers and labor, apart altogether from our present banking system. The underlying thought in the public mind is that so long as the operation of public utilities and the lending of money is in the hands of a few men, who control the economic destiny of Canada, the needs of the individual and agricultural industry being altogether outside the inner circle of this control, will be made subservient to the needs of "big business."

LOWERING THE COST OF LIVING—Another outstanding feature of the public operation of utilities would be the fixing of prices charged for commodities needed by the people. The experience has been that the monopolies and trusts always meet the price fixed by the operation of public utilities, or by the co-operation of the people.

An outstanding illustration of this principle is the City of Winnipeg's experience with electric power and light. When the city commenced operating its power plant it fixed the price to be charged for light and power at about 1/3 what the citizens were paying the privately owned electric power company. Immediately the private enterprise met the price set by the city.

The experience of such public operated institutions as the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator and the Manitoba Grain Growers' Grain Companies, is that the private organizations with which they come in competition in their business will meet the price set by the co-operative associations in every case.

VARIOUS METHODS—Operation of public utilities independent of private control is of two kinds: Government ownership and operation directly by a department of the government, such as the Intercolonial Railway, the Ontario Railway, the Dominion Government Elevators—all of which are operated through a department of the government; and public ownership as illustrated by the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company and the Alberta Co-operative

Elevator Company, where the people undertake to establish, operate and manage public elevators under certain conditions fixed by the government, and to which the government renders assistance by the loaning of public moneys.

NEED OF PEOPLES' BANKS—One phase of public and government ownership which is being developed in many countries rapidly is government banks, or publicly owned banks, for the lending of money. Our system of banking in Canada lends itself to the centralization of capital. Our banks are authorized by government to accept public money on deposit. To secure deposits the banks spread their tentacles all over the Dominion, establishing branches for that purpose. These deposits are accumulated in the central banks for the purpose of loans. Our banks are managed by boards of directors, the members of whom are almost always directors of industrial institutions, transportation companies, manufacturing interests and various other activities of commerce; and, being human, they are disposed to use money deposited in the banks for the promotion of these other undertakings, whose needs they understand best and to the promotion of which they give close attention. That is to say, the money deposited in banks by farmers and the laboring class is used in the interests of combines and trusts to oppress the people who are the depositors in the banks. So that our banks, as long as they are managed as at present and so long as the directors are human, from the nature of things cannot satisfactorily meet the requirements of labor and the needs of the agricultural classes.

LESSONS FROM EUROPE—Different systems of banking have been adopted by the different countries to supply the needs of the producing class, all of which have originated because of a felt need, such as we have in Canada today. The most outstanding Peoples' Banking System in the world is the "Raiffesen System" in Germany, where the deposits of the agriculturalists are used exclusively for the benefit of the agriculturalists themselves, through a system of co-operative banking.

Every nation of Europe has adopted some system of credit banking in the interests of the agricultural classes, and while they vary to some extent, the co-operative principle of rural credit in some form is recognized, the deposits of the farmer and laboring class being used for loans to these classes. That is, each farming community is placed in a position to finance itself by the surplus of one farmer being used to help the man who needed to borrow.

Even Russia has her Peasants' Bank. Provinces of India have established credit banks for the interests of the farming community. The same applies to the Republics of South America. The United States and Canada apparently are the only outstanding countries that have allowed the borrowing needs of the agricultural classes to be left to the tender mercies of banking institutions controlled exclusively by the capitalist class.

THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM—In 1909 New Zealand passed an act called "The New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Act" for the purpose of making advances—(1) to settlers, (2) to workers, and (3) to local municipal authorities.

Loans can be granted only on the instalment system (fully described hereafter):

- (a)—On all freeholds up to three-fifths of the value of the security:
Provided that in the case of first-class agricultural freeholds loans may be made up to two-thirds of the value.
- (b)—On leaseholds up to three-fifths of the value of the lessee's interest in the lease.
- (c)—On securities classified by the board as first-class, loans shall be granted for a term of thirty-six and a half years.
- (d)—On securities classified by the board as second-class, loans shall be granted for a term of thirty years.
- (e)—On securities classified by the board as third-class, loans shall be granted for a term of twenty years.

A security for a loan to a settler may be considered first-class when the value of the land or the applicant's interest, apart from improvements, is not less than three-fourths of the amount of the loan, and the property is in the opinion of

the board otherwise satisfactory; second-class when the value of the land or the applicant's interest therein, apart from improvements, exceeds one-third but does not equal one-fourth of the amount of the loan, and the property is deemed by the board otherwise satisfactory; and third-class when the value of the land or the applicant's interest therein, apart from improvements, does not exceed one-third of the amount of the loan, and the property is deemed by the board otherwise satisfactory.

ADMINISTRATION.—Section 3, clause 1, of the Act reads: "For the purpose of carrying out the objects of this Act there is hereby established an office to be called the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Office, administered and managed by an officer to be called the Superintendent, who shall be appointed by the Governor and shall hold office during pleasure."

Clause 2: "The Superintendent is hereby constituted a corporation sole under the style of the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Office Superintendent, with perpetual succession and a seal of office, which shall be kept and used by him alone."

Section 12, clause 1, reads: "For the purpose of better carrying out the objects of this Act, there is hereby constituted a board under the style of the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Board, consisting of six members, to wit:

(a) Four ex-officio members, namely, the Minister, the Superintendent and such other two persons, being officers of the Civil Service as the Governor in Council from time to time appoints as members; and

(b) Two competent persons (not being officers of the Civil Service) to be appointed by the Governor in Council as members, who shall hold office for two years."

Section 17 provides: "In order to provide capital for the purposes of this Act money may be raised from time to time by the Minister (Finance Minister), who is deemed to be acting on behalf of the 'Superintendent' and for the purposes of the 'Advances Office.'"

Clause (c) reads: "The moneys raised, with all interest thereon and the debentures and other securities issued in respect thereof, shall be guaranteed by the Government as hereinafter provided, but are a liability of the Superintendent in his 'corporate capacity.'"

CONTRAST WITH WESTERN CANADA.—Section 18, clause 1, provides: "To provide funds for advances to settlers, the Minister (acting as aforesaid) is hereby empowered to raise from time to time for the Advances Office such sum or sums not exceeding in the whole the sum of £1,500,000 in any one financial year."

Clause 2 empowers the Minister to provide funds for advances to local authorities which shall not exceed £500,000 in 1910, and in each subsequent financial year the sum of £1,000,000. The Minister is authorized to borrow £500,000 in any one financial year to provide funds to advance settlers for the acquisition of land. All sums so raised, with all interest thereon and all debentures and other securities issued in respect thereof are guaranteed by the Government of New Zealand.

Section 20 provides (1) all sums raised, with all interest thereon, are hereby charged:

(a) Upon all assets of the Advances Office;

(b) Upon all land vested in the Crown and subject to the provisions of the Land for Settlements Act;

(c) Upon all land vested in the Crown by virtue of the purchases made by the Crown.

Clause 2: The charge hereby constituted over lands vested in the Crown shall be enforceable by proceedings against the Superintendent in the same manner in all respects as if those lands were vested in the Superintendent for a legal estate in fee simple instead of in the Crown.

PROVISIONS AS TO MORTGAGES—The term of the loan shall be 36½ years. Clause (c) provides: The loan, with interest thereon at the rate of 6% per annum, can be repaid to the Superintendent in 73 half-yearly instalments, all such instalments being of equal amount except the last; and the first half-yearly instalment being payable six months after the date of the loan. Every such half-yearly instalment shall consist of partly principal and partly interest, but every such instalment, excepting the last, shall be at the rate of £3 to every £100 of the loan. This half-yearly payment retires both principal and interest at the end of the term of the loan.

Clause (f) reads: Irrespective of the prescribed half-yearly instalment the mortgagor may from time to time pay to the Superintendent any sum of not less than £5 or a multiple of £5 in reduction of the mortgage debt.

Section 49 of the Act provides: For the purpose of establishing further advances to be made in the case of a loan whether now current or hereafter guaranteed, the mortgagor may apply for a further sum, that, with the principal sum owing under the mortgage will not exceed the respective limits fixed by this Act in the case of an original loan.

HOMES FOR ALL—Workmen desirous of erecting or acquiring dwellings as homes for themselves and families may obtain advances by first mortgage on land and improvements. Loans shall be guaranteed for terms extending over 20 years or 36½ years according as the security is regarded as first, second or third class. On the same terms the repayment to be made as in case of advances to settlers is 6% half-yearly payments.

The Annual Report, 1912, of the State-guaranteed Advances Office shows the following:

ADVANCES TO SETTLERS BRANCH—The board had from the commencement of its business up to the 31st March, 1912, authorized 39,916 advances, amounting to £13,719,445. Applicants to the number of 4,133 declined the grants offered them, amounting to £1,668,065, making the number of advances authorized to the 31st March, 1912, 32,783, and the amount £12,051,380 net. The total amount of advances actually paid over during the year for both the Advances to Settlers and Advances to Workers Branches was £2,717,925.

The total sum raised by the Government for investment on mortgages since the department was started is £7,747,881 1s. 7d. 17,897 mortgagors are now indebted to the department to the extent of £7,301,028 4s. 8d. in respect of principal monies, an increase during the year of 1,892 mortgagors, owing £1,155,799 3s. 5d.

PROFITS—The gross profits for the year ended March 31st, 1912, were £75,216 5s. 9d. and the cost of management and expenses of the department £11,086 16s. 5d., being 0.14% or 2s. 10d. per £100 on capital employed. (The cost of the previous year was 0.15% or 3s. per £100).

The net profits amount to £63,276 9s., of which the sum of £45,441 1s. 7d. has been applied to writing down loan-charges.

One freehold security was realized by the department during the year. Losses on realization to the extent of £58 16s. 6d. have been debited this year. There are on the department's hands two securities which are not satisfactory. They have been considerably written down out of profits. At present they are leased at a nominal rental, awaiting a favorable opportunity for realization. Mortgagors continue to meet their half-yearly payments of interest and principal in a manner creditable to themselves and satisfactory to the department.

ADVANCES TO WORKERS' BRANCH—From the 8th January, 1907, up to the 31st March last the board had authorized 7,674 advances, amounting to £2,160,665. Applicants to the number of 686 declined the grants offered them, amounting to £158,290, so that the net advances authorized to the 31st of March, 1912, numbered 6,988 and amounted to £2,002,375. 5,599 mortgagors are now indebted to the department to the extent of £1,643,428 2s. 6d. in respect of principal moneys, an increase during the year of 1,317 mortgagors amounting to £464, 987 10s. 9d.

The gross profits for the year ended 31st March, 1912, were £12,396 8s. 6d. and the cost of management and expenses of the department £2,093 12s. 1d., being 0.12% or 2s. 6d. per £100 on the capital employed. (The cost of the previous year was 0.14% or 2s. 10d. per £100). The net profits amounted to £10,300 1s. 2d., of which the sum of £8,000 has been applied in writing down loan charges.

Loss on realization debited for the year amounts to £3 14s. 9d..

The plans and specifications of various types of buildings are available to borrowers. They include eighteen different kinds of dwellings of from two to seven rooms, costing from £120 to £750 to build. They can be inspected at the chief and principal post offices throughout the Dominion and are supplied to borrowers free of charge.

AGRICULTURAL BANK OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA—

West Australia established an Agricultural Bank by an Act of their Legislature in 1894. By amendment in 1906 the Act is administered by three trustees appointed from time to time by the Governor.

One trustee is appointed by the Governor as Managing Trustee.

The trustees, under the name of the Agricultural Bank of Western Australia are a body corporate, with perpetual succession and a common seal and are capable in law of suing and being sued, of holding and alienating land, and doing and suffering all such acts and things as a body corporate may by law do and suffer.

The Managing Trustee holds office under the pleasure of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Each of the other trustees hold office for the term of two years and are eligible for reappointment of another term at the expiration of their term of office. The Governor may suspend any trustee from his office for misbehavior or incompetency, if he becomes bankrupt or absents himself from three consecutive meetings of the trustees (except on leave granted by the Governor) or becomes incapable to perform his duties.

The necessary funds for carrying on the bank shall be such money as may be raised by the issue of mortgage bonds and such other moneys as may from time to time be appropriated by Parliament for the purpose.

The Treasurer may issue from time to time mortgage bonds for the purpose of raising any moneys under the Act, not exceeding in the aggregate £3,500,000.

WHO CAN BORROW?—Subject to the provisions of this Act the bank may make advances to persons engaged in the business of farming or grazing, or in agricultural, horticultural or pastoral pursuits, to an amount not exceeding £2,000; or in any industry that the Governor may, by proclamation, declare to be a rural industry or for any purpose incidental to or in aid of any such business, pursuit or industry, including the erection of a dwelling house for the borrower on any land occupied or used by him in connection with such business, pursuit or industry, to an amount not exceeding a sum to be limited by such proclamation.

The Act also provides that when advances are made for effecting improvements on the borrower's land, such advances may be made by progress payments as the improvements are being effected. If at any time in the opinion of the Managing Trustee any money advanced has not been applied for the purpose for which it was advanced or has not been carefully and economically expended, he may refuse to pay any further instalment of the advance and may at once call in the whole amount already advanced; whereupon the borrower shall forthwith repay the same and in default the bank shall have the same privilege for recovery of the same as is provided by the Act for the recovery of sums payable by the borrower.

TERMS OF LOAN—Section 33, clause 1, of the Act provides: For the period of five years next following the date on which an advance is made, there shall be paid to the bank by the borrower interest on the advance at the rate of £6 per centum per annum.

Clause 2: Such interest shall be payable on the first day of January and the first day of July in each year.

Clause 3: If any advance is made by instalments, interest shall be calculated on the actual amount of the several instalments of such advance from the date when such instalments are advanced.

Clause 4: After the expiration of the said period of five years, the advance with interest at the aforesaid rate shall be repaid by the borrower to the bank within a term of twenty-five years by payment on the first day of January and the first day of July in each year of half-yearly instalments until the whole advance, with interest, has been repaid.

As illustrating the success of the Agricultural Bank of Western Australia, take the following from the Profit and Loss Account for 1912:

The amount advanced has been applied as prescribed by the 1912 and previous Acts, to the following purposes:

	For year ended June 30th, 1912			Total amount to date		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Liabilities taken over	43,267	15	3	107,296	13	0
For the purchase of stock	31,004	6	2	178,554	9	2
For purchase of plant				6,494	0	0
For purchase of implements	3,012	9	1	4,845	18	3
For purchase of fertilizers				3,278	0	0
For developmental purposes	328,658	2	1	1,645,815	3	10
	405,942	12	7	1,946,184	4	3

The improvements effected by farmers with the assistance of the bank's funds are as follows:

	Year ending June 30th, 1912			Total to date	
	acres	costing		acres	costing
Clearing	161,787	£165,264	4 2	889,171	£1,182,570
Cultivating				213,042	120,461
Ringbarking and scrubbing	240,210	41,374	1 0	1,367,619	149,043
	chains			chains	
Fencing	195,135	63,558	13 3	1,225,103	361,637
Draining		173	5 0		5,660
Water supply		24,937	16 1		103,519
Buildings	acres			acres	
Orchard				321	4,321
Blackboy and poison grubbing		1,595	3 6	26,755	12,180
		£296,903	3 0		£2,023,259

The following extracts are taken from the Annual Report for the year ending 30th June, 1912:

AGAIN CONTRAST WITH WESTERN CANADA—The abnormal conditions experienced during the year are reflected in the large aggregation of overdue payments. The past season has been the driest that the bank has experienced and with the exception of a small proportion of fallow, practically the whole of the crops in the extreme east and north eastern portions of the wheat belt were absolute failures. As most of these settlers are in the earlier stages of development, with no revenue or income other than the crop to meet the year's engagements, we have been obliged to carry over the greater portion of the 1911 interest.

The profits for the year was £8,060 14s. 10d. as against £6,752 18s. 6d. for the preceding year. This amount will be transferred to reserve, making the total amount of this fund £45,892 0s. 8d.; equivalent to £3 11s. 8d. per cent. of the amount loaned to borrowers. This fund is employed in the redemption of mortgage bonds.

At the date of last report we had ten properties on hand carrying advances amounting to £685 19s. Twenty-two additional securities reverted to the bank

during the year and at present writing we are in formal possession of fourteen properties, carrying advances amounting to £1,474. The remaining securities, with one exception, were realized without loss. The deficiency in this instance amounted to £244, which includes an item of £90 3s. referred to in our last report. The purchaser of the property being unable to complete, the bank refunded the deposit and re-entered into possession. A clearance has been effected since the close of the year, and the loss will be written off in the current year's account.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF AN AMOUNT OF £7 10s. INTEREST WRITTEN OFF IN ITS EARLY STAGES, THIS REPRESENTS THE FIRST TRADING LOSS WHICH THE BANK HAS HAD TO RECORD.

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION—There is a growing sentiment in Canada that the Dominion Government should make the deposits in the Dominion Savings Bank available for loans to farmers and workers on somewhat similar lines to the Agricultural Bank of West Australia, or New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Act. Those Government Savings Bank Deposits are made up largely of small amounts—the earnings of workers in different kinds of industries, including agricultural industries. It seems a reasonable proposition that their money should be used in the interests of that class rather than as now loaned to Chartered Banks to be used in "building up big interests" which have become oppressive burdens to the producing classes.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

Resolved that Government ownership in Canada is impracticable.

Resolved that our postal system and the upkeep of public roads should be handed over to private companies.

Resolved that since the control of the economic circumstances of life means the control of life itself, the management of the economic instruments such as land and industrial capital cannot be left safely in the hands of individuals.

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Cyclopedia of American Agriculture—L. H. Bailey (Macmillan Co.).

Report on Co-operation and Marketing—Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs.

Land and Agricultural Credit in the United States—Washington Government Printing Office.

A Credit Union Primer—Arthur H. Ham and Leonard G. Robinson

Russell Sage Foundation 130 E. 22nd St., New York.

STUDY 13

Citizenship and Party

By DR. S. G. BLAND

Wesley College, Winnipeg

The great city is the Frankenstein created by the nineteenth century. These huge masses of population, drawn hurriedly together by an unprecedented industrial development, have outgrown the intelligence, the conscience, the public spirit of their citizens. What the nineteenth century created the twentieth century must redeem. Disorder, waste, ugliness, unwholesome conditions, wild beast struggle must give place to order, health, beauty, brotherliness and joy.

But side by side with the redemption of the city must be achieved the redemption of the country. Neither can be saved alone. The city has served the country; it has also robbed and devastated it. Everything that gives prosperity and attraction to the country helps to make the over-crowded city wholesome and normal.

This series of studies is one of innumerable indications that the urgency and importance of the redemption of the rural community are being recognized. These papers indicate, too, the recognition that for the increase of its prosperity and happiness the rural community must depend chiefly on itself. The main factors are greater intelligence, increased co-operation and higher and broader social ideals.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE NATION—But these studies recognize also that the community cannot dissociate itself from the nation. No citizen whether urban or rural can ignore the effect upon his life and work of political action. Corrupt or incompetent government can do great harm; honest and capable government can do great good. The good citizen ought to be a keen politician. Yet this is sometimes precisely what it is difficult for him to be. Of late years many good citizens have felt that neither of the great historic parties commanded their confidence and devotion.

MORALLY BANKRUPT—Here is the crux of the political problem of Canada.

Neither party today in Canadian national politics can arouse a throb of moral passion. The excitement is mostly galvanized. Selfish interests, partisan prejudices and loyalties, religious and racial and international animosities, can be played on, but the nobler passions are beyond the reach of our leaders.

HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TIME—The consequences are inevitable. When moral conviction does not determine elections, other forces will. Money and the organization which money makes possible and effective play a decisive part in elections today in Canada. Campaign funds are a controlling factor. Thus both political parties are brought under obligation to those sources from which campaign funds can be most copiously secured—contractors, lumbermen, railroads, etc.—who generously supply the sinews of war at the public's expense. And the dependence on private interests and the unlawful expenditure of these funds, with the abuse of patronage, the prostitution of the machinery of justice to partisan ends, and the violation of pledges which are naturally associated, make any successful appeal to the public conscience impossible.

So notorious are the delinquencies of both parties that even bigoted partisans no longer claim that their party is better than the other. They only claim that the other is worse

For such parties few men will do anything without pay of some kind or the hope of it, and the whole political struggle gravitates to the lowest level.

WANTED—A PARTY WITH A NEW SPIRIT—The problem is how to secure a political party which will inspire unpaid service, which will meet its necessary expenditure out of the disinterested contributions of people who love the principles for which the party stands, and which will thus be able to preserve its independence of private interests.

WHERE FOUND—Conceivably one or the other of the present Canadian parties might, under right leadership, rid itself of barnacles, discard unlawful methods, and in the great issue of our day—the struggle between the people and the big interests, espouse the popular cause. It would seem as if we were witnessing the regeneration of a great national party in the United States under the courageous, high-principled and sagacious leadership of Woodrow Wilson.

To some it will seem more readily conceivable that a new party should arise consecrated to righteousness and the people, a party not discredited by past failures and delinquencies, under no obligation to self seekers, deliberately making such an appeal to the intelligence and patriotism and conscience of Canadians as neither of the present parties can make without ridicule.

MORAL PASSION ESSENTIAL—One thing at least is clear—the profoundly unsatisfactory political life of Canada today can only be transformed by an uprising of moral passion. That is the one force that can emancipate from bondage to the big co-operation, which can baffle the healer and the ordinary campaign manager. Inspired and controlled by moral passion men become inaccessible to the briber. They will work and give without thought of reward. Moral passion is the one force before which the machine is helpless.

There are vast reservoirs of moral passion in Canada, that have scarcely been tapped for a generation. They lie sealed in English-speaking and in French-speaking Canadians, in native born and immigrant. The greatest discovery that could be made by any party would be the discovery of this dormant force. The party that can command it is the party of the future. It will not be easy to win. It will only be won by prolonged fidelity to principle at the cost of temporary weakness and defeat. A party that will not put itself under obligations to private interests, that insists on absolutely clean campaigns, that will seek the wellbeing of the common people, always putting the interest of the many above the few, will win a confidence and a devotion unknown in our Canadian politics during this generation.

BEHOLD HOW GREAT A FOREST IS KINDLED BY HOW SMALL A FIRE—Even a little group of half a dozen men of character and ability and independence might very greatly exalt our political life. Any constituency might render a most valuable service to the nation by electing such a man and keeping him in Parliament in spite of the possibly combined effort of both parties to discredit and defeat him. Such a representative might not secure for his constituency the usual amount of government favors. The new post office, the unnecessary wharf might be withheld, but the whole tone of political life might be raised.

WANTED—AN OPPOSITION WITH A NEW SPIRIT—The country has lost confidence in the criticism of parliamentary oppositions. It is liable to be strangely ineffective when most needed. And the indignation that breaks into fiery invective over the graft and corruption of the other party but is dumb concerning the similar misdoings of its own, deceives nobody. The yearning of the best people of Canada is for a party, or for a few men or at least one man whom the people can trust. Many good men there are in public life in Canada, but this goodness mostly is a prudent goodness, a goodness that keeps within bounds, that will never endanger the party, that knows when to be blind and when to

be silent. One must not speak lightly of such goodness. It is worth something. It accomplishes something and one can easily see how good men may believe it is the only kind of goodness a man can show who wishes to remain in public life, but the fact remains that oceans of such goodness cannot cleanse our political life.

GOD SEND US MEN!—No man can render higher service to Canada today than the man who offers to our public life a high intelligence, a firm will, an indomitable faith in the common people and a steadfast and incorruptible devotion to their wellbeing.

Canada will never be a nation till she finds her soul, and she will never find her soul till there is found in her a group of men who will appeal to that soul and risk everything to awaken it.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

"Resolved that one should vote for a conscientious able man rather than a first-class platform."

"Resolved that the time is ripe in Canada for the formation of a People's Party."

"Resolved that attendance at political conventions will do as much to bring in the Kingdom of God as will attendance at Prayer Meetings."

God send us men whose aim 'twill be,
Not to defend some worn-out creed,
But to live out the laws of Christ
In every thought, and word, and deed.

God send us men alert and quick,
His lofty precepts to translate,
Until the laws of Christ become
The laws and habits of the State.

God send us men! God send us men!
Strong, patient, strenuous, pious, true,
With vision clear and mind equipped,
His will to learn, His work to do.

God send us men with hearts ablaze,
All truth to love, all wrong to hate;
These are the patriots Britain needs,
These are the bulwarks of the State.

—F. J. Gillman.

STUDY 14

Direct Legislation

Mr. F. J. Dixon, M.P.P., Winnipeg, contributes the following succinct statement:

Direct Legislation means law making by a direct vote of the people. For example, a local option vote, a school by-law or a money by-law—these are submitted on separate ballots and the expressed will of the majority of the voters becomes law.

Advocates of Direct Legislation propose to extend the principle to enable the electors to vote upon any law upon which a fair percentage desire to vote.

Direct Legislation consists of the Initiative and Referendum; sometimes the Recall is improperly added. The latter deals, not with law making, but with law makers.

The Initiative is a measure by which a certain number of electors, usually not less than eight per cent., may propose a law by means of a petition to the legislature. If the legislature does not pass the proposed law it must be referred to the electors on a separate ballot at the next election and decided by a majority vote.

The Referendum is a measure by which a certain number of electors, usually three per cent., may demand that a law proposed by the legislature shall be submitted to the electorate on a separate ballot for rejection or approval.

Voting on such measures usually takes place at a general election, though it is wise to provide for special voting in case of emergency.

The main argument for Direct Legislation is that it is the acme of self-government.

The Recall is a measure by which a certain number of the electors in a constituency, usually twenty-five per cent., may demand by petition that their representative resign and re-contest the seat.

This power is rarely used, but it is said to have a powerful indirect influence on the behavior of the legislators.

As supplementing this statement, we give the following plea for Direct Legislation taken from a speech made by Rev. E. Thomas, in Regina, in November, 1913, prior to the submission of the Direct Legislation Act to the people of Saskatchewan.

NEW ISSUES—"All the legislative capacity of the country is not concentrated in the legislature. There are issues which both organized groups leave alone. Nor do I blame them. Only organized opinion counts at an election, and social justice or social humanity count for little at the polls unless embodied in some organized party. Unorganized philanthropy is of little political value unless it is expressed in the form of an organized party or group in the legislature. But the great issues which press for settlement are precisely those which, for obvious reasons, no party will determine unless compelled by some means not now available. Yet it may be that the real opinions of the legislators would afford a majority for a measure for which no organized group will stand. The difficulty arises from the nature of the case and not from special party depravity. The remedy must be sought in supplemental legislative powers.

RIGHT TO PETITION—"The right to submit proposals in law must be as secure as the right to submit changes in administration. We have the right to petition the legislature in support of bills already before them, but the petition has no real weight. Now it is proposed that we may petition the legislature in favor of bills not yet introduced and the petition shall have effect. Eight per cent. of the electors may draw up the bill and ask its enactment, after which the legislature may enact it without amendment or submit it to the people. They must do one or the other and if the people vote in favor of it, the legislature must enact it unchanged.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION—"Never do bills get a more thorough discussion than they would receive under this system. The experience of several states which have tried the method goes to show that the Initiative fails to carry bills which are supported only by faddists. And ill-considered legislation can never stand the severe scrutiny involved in the publication of the law in every provincial paper with months of discussion before all the people. We might well wish that the provision of some states were adopted here and that the government would issue with the bill a clear statement of the case for the bill and also an argument written by those who oppose it. The great peril of all such legislation lies in the possibility of the electorate being stampeded. But this can only happen when the people are blinded by fear or by prejudice. The new heaven of Democracy is accompanied by the new hell of panic legislation. But when the proposal has been before the country for not less than five months and panic has had time to wear itself out and passion has burnt itself out, it is not likely that the deliberate vote of the people will inscribe any law born of panic upon the statute book of the province.

CONSERVATIVE YET PROGRESSIVE—"The proposals for the Initiative and Referendum are highly conservative and therefore have my support. They conserve the political institutions of our past, while eliminating new factors of peril. They are so conservative as to be radical enough to preserve the roots of our political life and allow those roots to nourish richer growths than before. They conserve representative government but liberate the representatives from pressure which has been pernicious in the past, but which will be futile under Direct Legislation. They re-assert the abiding purpose of the people to make their own laws, but give expression to that purpose in such form as to make it more effective than it has been during the last few decades.

TRUE DEMOCRACY—"I advocate these measures not in order to secure any special acts, but because they will compel the education of the entire electorate by frequent discussions of great issues before the whole people. I advocate the Direct Legislation in order that organized and unorganized labor may be as potent as organized property in moulding the social order and in securing social justice. I advocate Direct Legislation in order that vexed issues never to be settled while entangled in the yoke of bondage to party interests may be discussed freely and settled on their merits. I advocate the new measures because they alone can now further that greatest of all accomplishments—self government—which, however dearly purchased and however blunderingly expressed, is still the goal of all humanity. Good government by other people, however benevolent, is less educative than self government however blundering, if only the blunders have to be borne and remedied by those who make them.

"For weakness in freedom grows stronger than strength with a chain;
And error, in freedom, will come to lamenting his stain,
Till freely repenting he whiten his spirit again."

"Therefore, because the Initiative and Referendum conserve the rich treasure of our political heritage, because they alone assure equality of service and freedom of command in co-operative legislation and because they involve the highest political education of the electorate which, while now including only men, may soon include our adult womanhood—for these reasons I ask every elector to use both vote and influence to broad base the Democracy of the West upon the will of the people expressed in terms deliberate, compelling and direct."

HEADS FOR STUDY (F. J. D.)

- 1—What is the cause of political corruption?
- 2—What is the cure for political corruption?
- 3—The growth and development of the British Constitution.
- 4—The growth of Direct Legislation.
- 5—The effect of Direct Legislation upon governments and people.

DEBATE

- 1—"Resolved that Direct Legislation will improve representative government."
- 2—"Resolved that Direct Legislation is British and Constitutional."
- 3—"Resolved that Direct Legislation is desirable."

LITERATURE

- "The Initiative, Referendum and Recall"—Munro, D. Appleton and Co., New York and London.....\$1.50
- "The Referendum in Switzerland"—Deploige, Longmans, Green and Co., London and New York.....\$1.50
- "The Referendum, Initiative and Recall" in America—Oberholtzer, Charles Scribner and Sons, New York.....\$2.00
- "History of the British Constitution"—Howard Masterman, Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto.

Pamphlets and information can be secured from the Direct Legislation League of Manitoba, 253 Chambers of Commerce, Winnipeg.

In youth, as I lay dreaming,
I saw a country fair,
Where plenty sheds its blessings down,
And all have equal share;
There poverty's sad features
Are never to be seen,
And each soul in the brotherhood
Scorns cunning arts or mean.

There honesty is reckoned
Something above a name,
And men perform their kindly deeds
For nobler meed than fame;
There labor is respected,
And reaps its due reward,
And idlers in the brotherhood
Would meet with scant regard.

For long have I been seeking
And still confess with pain,
I never yet have found the land
I long to see again,
Still, as my years run slowly,
Mingling with life's great stream,
I hope to find the brotherhood
I saw in that young dream.

—George Gilbertson.

STUDY 15

The Woman Movement— Equal Suffrage

By LILLIAN BENYON THOMAS

The Woman Movement is based on the same fundamental principles in human nature as the Man's Movement and the Race Movement. Men and women alike have within them a divine principle, urging them to express themselves, and for self-expression, freedom is the first essential. Ages ago men learned that a hut and poverty with freedom was better than luxury with slavery. Every soul is born free. Slavery of every kind is man's invention, instigated by the devil. Every man and woman is born and must die; has the power to enjoy and suffer, and to make the world better or worse. There is no sex or caste in pain or joy, or good or evil. There is no royal road into this world or out of it. The mystery of existence is the same for the king as the subject, for the man as the woman.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM—Men of old, meditating on these things, decided that a king, although he claimed to have been appointed by God, had no right to have the power to govern his subjects without their consent. They rose in rebellion against it; they became militant and executed a few kings and their friends, thus the nobles gained a right to a say in the government. But the king and the nobles ruled just as tyrannically over the middle and lower classes as the king had ruled over them. This led to a rebellion of those who were still unjustly treated. They killed and burned and made so much trouble that the middle classes were given the franchise. But they had not learned a lesson. They, with the nobles and king, were just as unjust to the lower classes as the king and nobles had been to them, and the lower classes had to murder and burn and destroy and make themselves a menace before they could get justice, in the form of a vote.

THE WOMAN'S FIGHT—While men were fighting for a vote women were fighting another battle. Their first big strike for freedom was a demand to be allowed to get an education. Walpole called the woman who opened the first girls' school in England "a hyena in petticoats." Woman has had to fight the battle for an education every step of the way, and it is not won yet. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford still deny women equal rights with men, and in many of the professions women are seriously handicapped. In the far East, the women of China and India are just beginning their struggle for an education, while in Persia and Turkey the women, as well as demanding educational rights, are fighting to abolish the veil and the harem, heathen institutions, which are an insult to the mothers of the race and the nation which fosters them.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE—The cause of the present strenuous nature of the woman's movement is that woman has been forced into industry and she has to adapt herself to the change in her conditions. The introduction of machinery has been a big factor in forcing women out of their homes. In the older days a woman was her own spinner, weaver, dressmaker, shoemaker and baker. With the introduction of machinery those things could be done better and cheaper in the factory and so they were taken out of the home. The woman had been the teacher of her children as well as their doctor and nurse. But it was found that to get the best results teachers, doctors and nurses should be trained, so those occupations, too, were taken out of the home.

This left women little but the menial tasks and not enough of those for all the women. Girls and women in domestic service competed so strongly for positions that their wage was reduced to a mere pittance. Girls in middle class and wealthy families were expected to get married, and they were the subject of coarse jokes if they did not. "Old maids" they were called, and they were supposed to be at the beck and call of all their married friends and relatives, thankful to be allowed to slave their lives out for a home and an occasional present.

Is it any wonder that women and girls revolted against such conditions and insisted on following the work that had been taken from them? Is it any wonder that the women and girls who were faced with starvation broke into the factories and laundries and bakeries, where their work had gone? Is it any wonder that the girls, who had as much brains and as much right to live as their brothers, revolted at being considered a burden, to be married off to the first eligible man who asked them?

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY—Women went into business, not to take man's work, but to get back a little that had been taken from them. But when they got there they found that they must take less wages for the same work as men. They found that the laws which had been made by men for men were all against them and in favor of the man. Let an attractive girl refuse to listen to the immoral proposals of a man in authority over her and she found herself on the street without employment or recommendations. But let her yield, and sooner or later her fate would be the same, while the man would remain in an honored position, waiting for another victim. In business and in social life it was the same, the woman received the treatment of a slave, from a judge and jury of slave owners. Women protested against the things mentioned above, and against sweated labor and insanitary surroundings of labor, against, too, long hours and many other things, but it was no use. The governing classes had not changed. The men treated the women just as the king had treated his subjects when he had complete power; and as the king and nobles had treated the middle and lower classes; and then as the king and nobles and middle classes had treated the lower classes. The women found, as the men had found years before, that they could not get justice without the franchise. They must have some say in the government before they could hope to be heard in their own behalf. Thus began the Woman's Suffrage Movement, a movement that is the logical outcome of women getting an education. It is a movement that many believe is of almost equal importance to the great struggle for an education, and they claim that the results will be of equal benefit to the race. However that may be, it is a necessary step in the woman's movement, just as it was a necessary step in the man's movement. It is a step toward freedom. The real cause of the woman's suffrage movement is the fact that women have begun to use their brains, and they have come to realize the fundamental truth at the bottom of all progress, that "we all have an equal right to live and to say how we will live." The immediate cause is the fact that women have had to leave their homes and go into business.

The great class standing in the path of this reform is the comfortable married woman, who is happy; and too selfish to care for anyone else. She, too, opposed the education of women and listened to the reactionaries who always shout that the world will go to smash if any change is made. But one by one they are hearing the clarion call of progress. No one can escape the logic and it is coming, just as advancement is bound to come, in all lines of human endeavor.

WOMAN'S FRANCHISE—The franchise has been granted to the women in some states and countries—of course, amid dire prophesies as to the results—the attitude of many legislators being that woman's suffrage is a dangerous experiment. It must have completely escaped their notice that it has been in operation for a number of years in several states without a single one of the catastrophes threatened by its opponents coming true.

The women of Wyoming secured the right to vote forty-five years ago, and that inconspicuous little pastoral state has since gone quietly about its business. Having no great cities or big industrial problems to solve, it has not come into the limelight as an example of a suffrage state.

The women of New Zealand and Colorado secured the right of franchise almost simultaneously in 1893, and the latter state has for years been the Mecca of those in pursuit of suffrage statistics pro and con.

The first year after the women of Colorado had the right to vote they saw to it that women were made equal guardians of their children with men, and the following year the age of consent for girls was raised from fourteen to eighteen years. During their twenty-one years of citizenship the women of Colorado have so influenced legislation concerned with the protection of children that The Inter-Parliamentary Union, an international body of sociologists, said of that state: "It has the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, the most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world."

This state has established juvenile courts and truant or parental schools, made it a criminal offence for parents or other persons to contribute to the delinquency of children, and has provided that any person employing a child under fourteen in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works should be liable to imprisonment, in addition to fine. Colorado has also made parents joint heirs of deceased children and, in short, put much more splendid social legislation on its books than there is room here to specify.

The splendid social legislation of New Zealand is world-famous and its laws for the protection of women and children are a shining example of the influence of women on legislation. Their sentence of life imprisonment for a criminal assault upon a little child and ours of a few months imprisonment for the same offence is a significant example of the two points of view.

Outside of these rather noteworthy examples the privilege of voting is more generally enjoyed by women than most people realize. The women of Utah had it between the years of 1870 and 1887, when Congress deprived them of it on the supposition that it would stop polygamy. In 1895, when Utah came into statehood, this right was restored to them on the recommendation of a convention of both Gentile and Mormon men.

In 1895 the women of Idaho also entered into the enjoyment of citizenship after a brief struggle of two years.

In 1883 the territory of Washington gave the women the vote, which they enjoyed until 1889, when they were tricked out of it by the vicious elements in the state. In 1910, however, it was submitted to a vote of the people and was carried in every county.

With the granting of woman suffrage in California in 1911 this propaganda, which had been mostly confined to pastoral states, started on a new epoch. In 1912 Kansas and Oregon joined the ranks of woman suffrage states and in 1913 Illinois gave its women a considerable measure of suffrage.

These privileges, however, have not been confined to the United States and New Zealand. The women property holders of the Isle of Man secured the franchise in 1881, and those who paid rent or taxes in 1892. Equal suffrage began in Australia in 1895, the last state getting it in 1908.

The women of Norway were enfranchised in 1907 and a portion of the women of Hungary and all the women of Alaska in 1913. Women also vote, with certain restrictions, in Denmark, Finland and Iceland.

So that it will readily be seen that this matter of woman suffrage is not a unique experiment fraught with inconceivable consequences, but an accomplished fact in many quarters of the globe.

For information apply to Francis Marion Beynon, Grain Growers' Guide.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

"Resolved that a woman's place is in her own home."

"Resolved that since influence is stronger than the ballot men should refuse to vote."

"Resolved that a woman with a family should have two votes."

STUDY 16

International Peace

By Nellie L. McClung

The soldier has always been our hero. We buy boxes of tin soldiers for our children at Xmas, never by any chance do we buy them farmers or carpenters. We pray to the "God of battles" never by any chance to the God of workshops. Our histories are the histories of war—kings and princes levied heavy taxes on the people, and fitted out great armies to kill other people, who were also paying heavy taxes to pay their share of the expense. The common people always paid for their own killing, and the man who could cause them to do the most of this and get away with it was the greatest hero.

DO THOSE WHO MAKE WAR DO THE FIGHTING?—The people who made the quarrel were not the people who did the fighting—neither are they yet. If the war lords, who are so keen for battle, had to see their own children maimed, or better still, if they knew that they themselves must be the victims, if it was their own china which was broken, their own pictures destroyed, their own homes burned, war would suddenly cease. But there is always The People—that great indefinite abstraction The People, limitless in number, inarticulate in suffering—the people who could be made to both fight and pay.

WAR SETTLES NOTHING—But even the people are beginning to see a light. They are beginning to see that war settles nothing. It is not undertaken in order that a dispute may be settled. It is undertaken for the purpose of making some person or persons ready to settle the dispute. Nations fight until they get tired, and then they arbitrate and act like human beings again. Meanwhile the people, the innocent people, both fight and pay. The fighting comes to an end sometime, but the paying goes on forever. Unborn generations will pay for this war, not only in money, which is the cheapest tax war levies, but in impaired vitality, in the lack of healthy and vigorous parentage, in lowered ideals, in sad and bitter traditions.

WAR BREAKS ALL THE COMMANDMENTS—War is the antithesis of all our teaching. It breaks all our laws and violates all rules for individual behavior. "Thou shalt not kill"—"Thou shalt not steal"—"Thou shalt not covet"—are airily set aside in the belief that all is fair in love and war.

War is a senseless thing. Because I am strong enough and wicked enough to go to my neighbor's house, and spoil her treasures, smash her pictures, kill her children and take her prisoner, it does not show that I am fitter to live than she—yet in the ethics of nations it does. Both sides engaging in a battle suffer loss. There is nothing so sad as a defeat, unless it is a victory—there is nothing more disastrous than a battle lost, unless it is a battle won, for in either case, only in a slightly varying degree there is loss of life, loss of property, loss of manhood, loss of ideal. When one man drives his bayonet through another man, neither of them is quite the same man again.

WAR SETS BACK CIVILIZATION—The sacredness of human life is the great fundamental of our civilization. It is the object of all our teaching and training. War sets that all aside. Why should we be concerned about excessive mortality among infants, or improper housing of the workers, or the care of the aged, when in one day thousands of men lie dead, thousands of children

and old people are turned out to die? War dulls our consciences and twists our whole moral fabric. Think of the bitter irony of good men, needed by their families, going out to kill other good men needed by their families. That is war!

WAR IS RACE SUICIDE—Think of the clean-limbed, clean-blooded young men marching away to be blown into quivering rags by the enemy's shell, while the unfit, the tubercular, the epileptic, stays at home, and becomes the father of a family. That is war!

WOMEN AND WAR—This is masculine statecraft; too, uncontaminated by any feminine foolishness.

AFTER THIS WAR, WHAT?—But out of the present war, with its hideous slaughter and destruction will come a new world, a world where men and women will rule and not kings and kaisers—where the mother's point of view will be reckoned with—where human life will be sacred—where no red-handed assassin will be counted a hero—where human happiness and welfare will be the great concern of all mankind—when new histories will be written, not telling of wars and burnings and conquests, but showing the interdependence and interservice of nations, the growth of industries, the progress of art, the slow but glorious glimmerings of the new conscience, the new brotherhood, the new democracy.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

Is war justified by the teachings of Jesus?

The child's question—"Now tell us all about the war and what they fight each other for."

"Resolved that modern war brings no material gain to the victors."

"Resolved that after this war there should be disarmament."

"Resolved that commercial interests are at the bottom of modern wars."

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These things shall be a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave and strong,
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation and nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity:
—John Addington Symonds.

The Conclusion of the Whole Matter

*Have we interpreted aright the existing situation?—
Then, every one of these studies forces upon us the
need of Co-operation—CO - OPERATION!*

Changed Conditions - - - - -
The Passing of the "Independent
Farmer" - - - - -
Scientific Agriculture - - - - -
Rural Economics - - - - -
Family Life - - - - -
Real Education - - - - -
True Religion - - - - -
Community Welfare - - - - -
Thoroughgoing Democracy - - - - -
Inter-State Business - - - - -
International Relations - - - - -

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"Do You Get It"?

CO-OPERATION

*"Last century made the world one neighborhood.
This century must make it one brotherhood."*

